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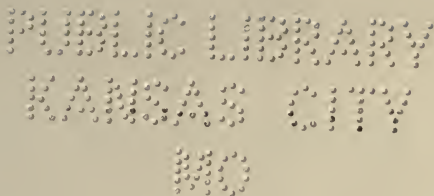


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THE NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

EDITORS

LANSING B. BLOOM
PAUL A. F. WALTER

VOLUME III
1928

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 26, 1859

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- 1859 — Col. John B. Grayson, U. S. A.
1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict
-

- 1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch
1883 — Hon. L. Bradford Prince
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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended Dec. 15, 1925)

Article I. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of twenty-five dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have by published work contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election,

and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Each Member, upon election, shall pay a fee of two dollars, which shall include the dues for the current calendar year and annually thereafter a fee of \$1.00 payable in January of each calendar year. Members may be dropped from the rolls of the Society at the discretion of the Executive Council for non-payment of dues.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publication of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at Eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Bulletins, as published, are mailed to members; subscription to the *Review* is additional.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex.



U. S. Indian Agent John P. Clum and company of fifty-four Apache Indian Police. Taken at Tucson, Arizona, the latter part of May, 1876. The company is attired in the uniforms purchased by popular subscription. Agent Clum is in center foreground with "cork" hat, Mexican riding whip (quirt) and fringed buckskin pants. Sergeant Tau-el-cly-ee is in the first set of "twos" at Clum's right, and Marijildo Grijalba, the interpreter, stands — a bit bow-legged — in the left foreground. This fine body of police accompanied Agent Clum to Apache Pass for duty in connection with the removal of the Chiricahua Apaches to San Carlos in June, 1876. Sergeant Tau-el-cly-ee is the sport who, with twenty selected police, effected the arrest of "Pi-on-se-nay," and who, with Agent Clum, conveyed that dangerous prisoner from the agency at Apache Pass to the stage station at Point-of-Mountain where he was delivered

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No. 1.

GERONIMO*

APACHE PASS will ever be intimately associated with Apache Indian history, and especially with the life stories of Cochise and Geronimo. There, for two or three decades, the former was a dominant figure as chief of the Chiricahuas, and there, a little later, the latter made his debut as a notorious renegade.

Many of our readers may not at once recall the exact location of Apache Pass, but if, a little more than a half century ago, they had been travelers along the old southern overland stage road between El Paso and San Diego they would distinctly remember this pass as the most dangerous section of that route because of frequent and savage attacks by hands of marauding Apaches.

The pass is a picturesque depression or divide in southeastern Arizona, separating the Chiricahua mountains on the south from the Dos Cabezas range on the north, and affording reasonably easy grades for the famous overland highway which for so many years threaded a sinuous course through its scenic defiles.

Away back yonder in those "early days"—about 1860 — a small detachment of United States troops arrived in Apache Pass from New Mexico and established a military post in the midst of the canyon recesses, which later became well known as Fort Bowie, and 1872, by special order of General O. O. Howard, the Chiricahua Indian Agency was located about a mile west of the fort. And there I found these two important government outposts when I first visited that historic section in June, 1876.

Glancing backward about three quarters of a century, we find that the Apaches who then roamed in American territory contiguous to the international line were under the leadership of two capable and daring chiefs — Mangus Colorado and Cochise. The former held sway in south-

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western New Mexico and the latter in southeastern Arizona, and General O. O. Howard states that these two chiefs were brothers. It is alleged that few, if any, depredations were then committed in American territory by the Indians under Cochise.

But a new and bloody chapter in Apache history was entered upon with the establishment of the military post in Apache Pass in 1860. Lieut. G. W. Bascom was the officer in command. Soon after his arrival he induced Cochise, with a brother and another relative, to come to the military camp for a talk. Having these Indians in his power he made them prisoners. Cochise cut a hole in the back of the tent in which he was confined and escaped with only a slight gun-shot wound in one leg. The other two Indians were hanged by Bascom. Cochise vowed that he would avenge the treachery practiced toward himself and the killing of his relatives. Thus began a bloody strife with this band of Apaches which was destined to continue nearly thirteen years.

Early in 1863 Mangus Colorado was made a prisoner through a treacherous plot similar to that adopted by Bascom at Apache Pass. Mangus was being guarded at night in an adobe structure within the little hamlet of Apache Tejo, near Silver City, N. M., and while he was sleeping a guard prodded him with a hot bayonet. Mangus leaped up with a yell and was promptly shot. The guards alleged that he was attempting to escape. This occurred in February, 1863. I passed through Apache Tejo early in May, 1877, with Geronimo as a prisoner, and the story of the killing of Chief Mangus was reported to me then by Indians who were familiar with the circumstances.

Although the powerful Mangus was dead, he left many daring and willing friends who were neither slow nor ineffective in their bloody deeds of retaliation. Most prominent among these avengers was the young chief Ponce, who, nine years later — 1872 — was one of the two Apaches who conducted General O. O. Howard into Cochise's strong-

hold, and whom, five years still later, I held as a prisoner with Geronimo and other renegades when we passed through Apache Tejo in 1877.

It was about 1870 that President Grant promulgated what was popularly termed his "Peace Policy" in connection with the management of the Indians. Ever since the hanging of the two Indians at Apache Pass by Lieut. Bascom in 1860, Cochise had persistently indulged his bloody thirst for savage revenge — which seemed insatiable, and the heavy toll in lives of Americans and Mexicans taken by this desperate and exceedingly dangerous Apache chief was appalling.

Mr. Vincent Colyer of New York was a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners appointed by President Grant to assist in the administration of the Peace Policy. Mr. Colyer at once (1871) made an extended tour of the west and talked with as many of the various tribes of Indians as practicable. The president had urged Mr. Colyer to make the utmost endeavor to secure an interview with the notorious Chiricahua Indian chief, but his efforts to meet Cochise resulted in utter failure.

But President Grant persisted — as was his habit — and in February of the following year he assigned to General O. O. Howard the difficult and hazardous task of meeting and treating with Cochise. General Howard left Washington for Arizona March 7, 1872, going by way of California. While his special mission was to interview Cochise, he was instructed to visit all the Indian tribes of the territory.

Although General Howard had the decided advantage of being able to command whatever military co-operation he might deem desirable, he met with no better success on his first trip in his efforts to interview Cochise than had Mr. Colyer. Thereupon he selected a party of ten Arizona Indians, mostly the older chiefs, to accompany him to Washington. These Indians represented the Papagos, Pimas, Mojaves and the Arivaipa Apaches. This party

left Camp Apache, Arizona, June 1st, going by way of Santa Fe, New Mexico (where I was then stationed), and arriving at Pueblo, Colorado, June 17th, from which point they took train for Washington.

Undaunted by the ill success of his first trip, General Howard left Washington on July 10, 1872, for a second and more determined effort to meet Cochise, returning to Arizona by way of Santa Fe, N. M., where I again met him.

In his book, "My Life Among our Hostile Indians," published in 1907, General Howard has given the details of his meeting with Cochise in an exceedingly interesting manner. A few of the most important features of his narrative—reduced to their lowest terms — will suffice for the purposes of this story.

Some perplexing delays were experienced in arranging for the visit to the Chiricahua country, but a definite plan was finally decided upon and General Howard left Cañada Alamosa, New Mexico, on Sept. 20th accompanied by Capt. Sladen, his aide, Tom Jeffords, Jake May, a young Apache chief named "Chie" and two packers. He soon picked up another young Apache chief named "Ponce."

Regarding the "social status" of these two Indians, General Howard says: "With those Tulerosa Indians was a young chief called Chie, the son of Mangus Colorado — Cochise's brother, a notorious Indian killed in 1863. . . . Ponce, another young chief, who, with a roving band, had recently fled from Fort Stanton (N. M.), was somewhere near Cañada Alamosa depredating on the country, and our soldiers from different posts were out scouting and hunting for this very band of renegades."

It is not probable that, under ordinary circumstances, General Howard would have selected these two young Apache renegades for his traveling companions, but his was a desperate mission which justified desperate methods, and, if necessary, desperate associates.

General Howard does not qualify his statement that Mangus Colorado and Cochise were brothers. Chie was

the son of Mangus, and Ponce and his father were sub-chiefs under Mangus — and both were staunch friends of Cochise.

At first Chie objected to going because he had no horse, but General Howard overcame this objection by presenting him with two horses, — one for himself and one for his wife. Ponce also objected for two reasons — he had no horse and there would be no one to care for his people. General Howard says he gave Ponce a horse and “furnished their gypsy band with 30-days’ supplies (at a Mexican hamlet) on conditions that they remain there and did not depredate.”

When General Howard left this bunch of renegades and resumed his journey toward Arizona he was astonished to see Ponce following on foot, and upon inquiry he learned that the young chief had gallantly given the horse to his wife. And so it happened that sometimes Ponce rode behind with the general, and sometimes the general walked while Ponce rode his horse. General Howard says this arrangement greatly pleased the young chief. Tom Jeffords was selected to accompany the general because he had traded with the Cochise band and held their confidence — and also had a fair knowledge of their language.

General Howard’s rank in the regular army, together with the special authority vested in him by the President, placed the military and civil authorities of New Mexico and Arizona subject to his command in matters pertaining to the very important mission he had undertaken, but this plenary power did not in the least assuage the bitter enmity of the settlers toward the Apaches — two of whom were now members of the general’s official party.

Because of this extreme hostility on the part of citizens, General Howard found himself in imminent danger on at least two occasions before he arrived in the camp of the notorious Chiricahua chieftain. At Silver City, N. M., the citizens were most determined and the situation was desperate, but, the general tells us, “fortunately there were

present several sensible men who helped us to remain through the night without suffering violence." And it may be added, the next morning these same "sensible men" helped the general to get safely on his way with the first glow of the dawn.

However, they had not proceeded more than ten miles when they met a small party of prospectors, one of whom had lost a brother at the hands of the Apaches. At sight of Chie and Ponce this avenging brother leveled his rifle at the Indians, but General Howard deliberately threw himself in front of the ready weapon and told the infuriated prospector he would have to kill him first. The prospector was finally persuaded to postpone the killing, but his remarks were not complimentary either to the Indians or to the general.

Entering Arizona the trail led through the San Simon valley to Apache Pass and thence across the Sulphur Springs Valley to the Dragoon mountains, where, early in October, General Howard found the camp of the renegade chief concealed in a rocky fastness which is still known as "Cochise's Stronghold." The party had been reduced to five; General Howard, Capt. Sladen, Tom Jeffords, Chie and Ponce.

There were days of "peace talks" and palavers. Cochise declared that the trouble really began with the hanging of the two Indians at Apache Pass in 1860. General Howard further quotes him as saying; "You Americans began the fight and now Americans and Mexicans kill an Apache on sight. I have retaliated with all my might. I have killed ten white men for every Indian slain."

Nevertheless, Cochise was now ready to make peace, and it is not unlikely that the wily old chief boasted to General Howard of his prowess, and at the same time boosted his achievements to the limit, with the hope of obtaining the best terms possible in the proposed treaty. Finally, on October 13, 1872, the terms of the treaty were agreed upon, the boundaries of a reservation were fixed,

Tom Jeffords was designated as agent and sixty days' rations arranged for.

Thus General Howard had the extreme satisfaction of seeing his important and hazardous mission terminate in complete success. With a sense of deep gratitude for what had been accomplished in behalf of peace and prosperity, the general shook hands with Cochise for the last time and started on his return trip to Washington.

The reservation did not include "Cochise's Stronghold." It was situated east of the Sulphur Springs valley and embraced the greater part of the Dos Cabezas, Chiricahua and Swisshelm ranges. *The Mexican line was the southern boundary* and the agency was established in Apache Pass near Fort Bowie. Tom Jeffords continued to serve as agent for the Chiricahua Apaches until relieved by me nearly four years later — in June, 1876.

This brief historical review has been entered here in order to impress the fact that as late as 1872 southeastern Arizona was a remote and isolated frontier; that definite information relative to the Indians of that region was difficult to obtain, as well as to suggest the general conditions prevailing in and about Apache Pass for a decade or two prior to the appearance of Geronimo as a conspicuous figure in Apache history.

In February, 1874, President Grant commissioned me agent for the Apaches at the San Carlos agency, which is located on the Gila river at its confluence with the Rio San Carlos and about 150 miles northwest from Apache Pass. Nearly all of the Indians then at the San Carlos agency were known as Arivaipa Apaches. In that same year, and prior to my arrival in Arizona, Cochise died, so that I never had the opportunity of meeting the noted chief — a fact I deeply regretted.

On my arrival at San Carlos in August, 1874, I found about 800 Indians assembled on that reservation. Soon after several small bands were brought in from the ad-

jacent mountains which increased the number under my direction to about 1000.

In March, 1875, the Indians from the Rio Verde reservation, situated near Prescott, were removed to San Carlos and placed in my charge. There were about 1400 of these Indians, comprising nearly equal numbers of Tontos and Mojaves — with a few Yumas.

In July, 1875, under orders from the Interior Department, I removed 1800 Coyotero Apaches from the Camp Apache agency, locating about half of these adjacent to the main agency at San Carlos and the remainder at a sub-agency on the Gila about twenty miles east of San Carlos. Thus it will appear that within a year the number of Apaches under my charge and direction increased from 800 to approximately 4200.

And now the scene of our narrative returns again to Apache Pass. Cochise left two sons, Tah-zay and Nah-chee. After his death a bitter rivalry developed between Tah-zay, the elder son, and Skin-yea, who had served as head war-chief under Cochise, as to who should succeed to the leadership of the tribe. The government officials recognized Tah-zay, but this action, instead of settling the controversy, only widened the breach between these stalwart aspirants and established an enmity which was destined to culminate in mortal combat.

Peace was maintained for about two years after the death of Cochise, but on April 6, 1876, a raiding party led by Pi-on-se-nay, a brother of Skin-yea, attacked the overland stage station at Sulphur Springs, twenty-six miles west of Fort Bowie, killed two men named Rogers and Spence, and committed other depredations in the San Pedro valley.

Lieutenant Henley, with a troop of cavalry from Fort Bowie, followed the trail of these renegades for some days and finally overtook them near the Mexican border, but did not succeed in inflicting any punishment upon them.

Nearly a month after this outbreak I received the fol-

lowing telegraphic orders from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

Washington, D. C., May 3, 1876.

Agent Clum,
San Carlos, Arizona.

Appropriation made by Congress. Will arrange for additional supplies. Proceed to Chiricahua; take charge of Indians and agency property there, suspending Agent Jeffords, for which this dispatch shall be your full authority. If practicable remove Chiricahua Indians to San Carlos. For that purpose use not exceeding three thousand dollars. Governor Safford has been advised.

(Signed) J. Q. Smith,
Commissioner.

Before entering actively upon the execution of these orders I insisted that a sufficient military force should be ordered into the field to afford ample protection to settlers in any emergency. General August V. Kautz, commanding the Department of Arizona, hesitated, but upon receipt of orders from the War Department he sent the entire sixth cavalry into southern Arizona. This unwarranted hesitation on the part of the local military authorities caused a delay of about three weeks in the active prosecution of my orders.

I chanced to be in Tucson when the above telegram from Washington was received there. Having made my request to General Kautz for military support *in the field*, I proceeded at once over the trail (125 miles) to San Carlos for the purpose of organizing a special police force to accompany me to Apache Pass. About a week later I was back in Tucson with an escort of fifty-four Arivaipa and Coyotero braves who constituted my *personal body-guard and free-lance army*.

While waiting for the cavalry to *arrive in the field* the citizens of Tucson had an excellent opportunity to observe the character and conduct of my Apache police *at close quarters*. Since the organization of this police force at

San Carlos in August, 1874, its members had rendered most valuable service on the reservation, and reports of their efficiency and dependability had spread throughout the territory, but the average citizens of Arizona had visualized this force *only at long range*. Hence when this company of fifty-four stalwart Apache police — fully armed and equipped for action — marched into the ancient and honorable pueblo of Tucson they presented a unique and impressive spectacle, and the onlookers were fully persuaded that the reports of their efficiency and prowess had not been exaggerated.

During this period of “watchful waiting” for the sixth cavalry to arrive *in the field* a committee of Tucson’s “leading citizens” came to me with a request for AN APACHE WAR-DANCE — they were eager to witness *a genuine spectacle of this character*. Would the visiting police oblige them? I consulted the police and found them not only willing but enthusiastic. Accordingly the date for the “out-break” was set. On the day appointed a load of wood was hauled to the center of the old Military Plaza, and as soon as it was dark the “camp-fire” was kindled. Forthwith the spectators began filing into the plaza by scores and hundreds — until we had an expectant audience estimated at fully 3000. The stage was set — ON WITH THE DANCE!

And now appeared the grotesque actors — thirty-five robust Apache braves stripped to the waist; their bodies and faces hideous with streaks and smears of “war-paint”; some wearing fantastic head-gear, and each bearing a lance and shield, a bow and arrow, or a rifle — according to the act assigned. Accompanying these were the “chanters and musicians” with their tom-toms. The instruments all being “in tune” the “first act” was precipitated without hesitation or delay. This was the “instigation scene” in which a lithe dancer performed gracefully with lance and shield. Gradually the number of active participants increased until the camp-fire was circled by a score or more

of wildly gesticulating figures of ferocious aspect and the night air was vibrant with a discordant chorus of blood-curdling "war-whoops."

The committee had expressed their eager desire for a "genuine spectacle," and when I observed the audience gradually retreating from the circle of lunging and howling performers I suspected that the play was becoming a bit too realistic to suit the fancy of the average "pale-face." Presently Chief Justice French edged his way to my side and with an expression of unfeigned alarm and the tone of a veteran pleader he said: "Clum, hadn't you better stop this before the Indians get beyond your control?" I replied (with apologies to John Paul Jones) "Why judge, we have *just begun* to dance."

And now the climax was approaching — for which our "infatuated" audience was wholly unprepared. None knew that I had supplied a half-dozen blank cartridges for each rifle in the custody of this apparently frantic bunch of athletic savages. Suddenly the sharp crack of a rifle echoed keen and clear above the din of the frenzied dance. This was the signal for a chorus of SUPER-YELLS, and then — BANG! BANG! BANG! BANG! came the nerve-racking explosions from some twenty additional rifles, fired in volleys or in rapid succession. Meanwhile the vocal exercises and athletic contortions of our unrestrained entertainers approached the peak of noise and confusion. To the average spectator it looked as if these unleashed representatives of the famed San Carlos Apache police were running amuck.

Fortunately, the old Military Plaza afforded ample "exits" for our (now) near-terror-stricken audience. That was "no place for a minister's son." No benediction or recessional was necessary, and, although the retreat was orderly, we very soon realized that our "enthusiastic" audience had quite spontaneously and almost unanimously deserted the "auditorium" without according to our "perfect performance" the usual complimentary "prolonged applause."

The following excerpts are from the *Arizona Citizen* of May 27, 1876 .

“The war-dance last night by the detachments of San Carlos Apaches at present in Tucson was a sight long to be remembered. The lateness of the hour and the pressure of matter compel us to pass it at present with a mere reference. Previous announcement that the dance would take place drew several thousand spectators to the Military Plaza early in the evening. * * * “The Indians seemed particularly delighted with the occasion, * * * and danced their Devil’s quick steps and Virginia reels around the great fire blazing in the center with as much gusto and fierce delight as was ever delineated in the wildest Indian fiction. The dance continued for several hours and consisted of sorties by small squads of Indians at a time; then larger parties; then all hands around together, the whole interspersed by the frequent discharge of blank cartridges from the arms in their hands..

If the interest manifested by the people in these orgies of the Indians pleased the latter and showed them that we are satisfied and feel friendly to them so long as they behave themselves, the main object of the dance was accomplished.

Marijildo Grijalba (the interpreter) was the master of ceremonies and seemed to be in perfect and friendly accord with the Indians.

The citizens of Tucson were so well pleased with the general deportment of the police during their entire visit there that a purse was raised by popular subscription and the company presented with uniforms — white pants, red shirts and an obsolete style of army hat. Not an expensive outfit, but highly valued as expressing friendliness and good will.

It is apropos to recall here that only five years previously some of the leading citizens of Tucson had secretly organized and stealthily led a party of Americans, Mexicans and Papagos to the Arivaipa Canyon — sixty miles north from Tucson, and there at dawn on April 30, 1871, attacked a camp of sleeping Apaches and brutally shot and

clubbed to death 118 Indians — women, children and old men. Now (1876) the Apaches were, practically, the guests and entertainers of the residents of this same remote frontier community. Strange things happen in strange ways. Neither the Apache Indians nor the citizens of Tucson had materially changed in character during the five years that had intervened, but, fortunately, they had come to a better understanding of, and with, each other.

As soon as General Kautz arrived in Tucson he sent his aide, Colonel Martin, to me with a request that I indicate how the troops should be assigned in the field. When I demurred Colonel Martin insisted that the commanding general was very desirous that I should express my judgment in the matter. This I finally did, and within an hour Colonel Martin returned to my quarters with a copy of an order just issued by General Kautz assigning the troops exactly as I had suggested. I never have been able to decide whether this action was a bit of fine courtesy on the part of General Kautz, or a clever plan to bridge to me full responsibility for whatever might eventuate. In view of the fact that General Kautz had hesitated until the War Department had ordered him to give me "all military assistance necessary," I suspected that his scheme was to shift the command to me — to the extent of deciding what military aid was "necessary" and how that aid should be employed. Whatever motive may have lurked in the mind of General Kautz, his orders to the troops in the field — based upon my suggestions — operated in complete harmony with the purposes of the campaign.

The capture of the murderers of Rogers and Spence and the contemplated removal of the Chiricahua Indians to San Carlos was regarded as an enterprise of more or less formidable proportions, and the campaign was not undertaken without serious misgivings. The very name of the Chiricahua Apaches had been a terror to the citizens of Arizona, New Mexico and Sonora for many, many years.

Scores of graves in this southwestern region marked the final resting places of their victims. It was variously estimated that this tribe could muster from three hundred to five hundred able warriors — all well armed, brave and experienced. For more than a decade under Cochise they had successfully defied the troops — both American and Mexican, and had been victorious in almost every engagement with these troops. Skin-yea, the old war-chief under Cochise, was still living — and still influential. Would he seize upon the present situation as his opportunity to rally his dusky braves under the old standard and lead them back along those free, familiar trails which ever led to scenes of plunder and bloodshed? These and similar considerations had determined me not to go upon their reservation until *I* was prepared to dictate terms to *them* — and not they to me; to have the settlers protected in case of open hostilities, and be prepared to quell an outbreak without a protracted Indian war.

That General Kautz and his staff were apprehensive of danger was evidenced by the general's action in tendering me a company of cavalry to serve as my personal escort from Tucson to the Chiricahua agency, which was located in the heart of Apache Pass. As I felt secure with my body-guard of Apache police I thanked the general for his consideration and declined the cavalry escort.

It was the afternoon of June 4, 1876, when I arrived with my Indian police at Sulphur Springs, the scene of Pi-on-se-nay's recent murders. At the same time several companies of cavalry were moving down the Sulphur Springs and San Simon valleys to convenient positions where they might be ready for prompt action in case the renegades attempted further depredations. These two valleys were broad and open so that the approach of the invading forces (each separate column trailed by a dense cloud of alkali dust) could be readily observed by the Chiricahuas, who, from adjacent peaks, had been watching our movements with the deepest interest.

The crisis for the Chiricahuas had arrived. The next morning the San Carlos police would be at their agency in the very heart of the pass, with all the supporting troops in position for immediate and effective action. The fighting spirit of Skin-yea, the old war-chief, was thoroughly aroused, and he exerted himself to the utmost in an effort to induce the entire tribe to take the warpath and resist to the bitter end. In this course he was ably supported by his brother, Pi-on-se-nay.

Tah-zay and Nah-chee stoutly opposed the plans of the old war-chief. These two young sons of Cochise declared that they had sworn to their father on his deathbed to keep the treaty he had made — and that they would be faithful to their oath.

That night the Indians gathered for council in a deep canyon illuminated by a great campfire. That bitter enmity which for two years had been smouldering in the breasts of these two families of savages was here to seek and find its ultimate and extreme satisfaction in blood and death. The council began and the hot blood of the Indian was soon beyond control. Suddenly the sharp crack of a rifle rang down the mountain side and the fierce Apache yell proclaimed the deadly strife begun. This fearful test was finally to determine who was fittest to succeed the dead chieftain — his sons or his war chiefs.

The deep and rocky canyon, wrapped in the sable veil of night, peopled with weird shadows flung from the flickering embers of the smouldering council fire, the keen reports of the rifles resounding from cliff to cliff, the demoniacal yells of the savage participants in this mortal combat — each lent a feature to make the picture wild, fierce and terrifying in the extreme. The bullets sped through the air as if impatient to main or kill the fighting fiends. Presently a well directed shot from Nah-chee's gun struck Skin-yea square in the forehead, piercing his brain. The towering frame of the brave, bad warrior swayed a

moment in the darkness and then fell prone upon the mountain side. Skin-yea had fought his last fight.

Scarcely had Pi-on-se-nay realized his brother's death when he was himself completely disabled by a bullet fired by Tah-zay which crashed through his right shoulder. The die was cast. The fortunes of war no longer favored these veteran fighters. Wounded, defeated and disheartened Pi-on-se-nay fled into the shelter of the darkness assisted by a few of his followers. Thus did the young sons of Cochise defend with their lives the oath they gave their dying father.

Two companies of the sixth cavalry en route to Fort Bowie made their camp near mine at Sulphur Springs on the night of June 4th.. Included among the officers with these troops was Colonel Oakes, commander of the regiment. Sulphur Springs was located on the old southern overland stage route and the distance to Fort Bowie (in Apache Pass) was twenty-six miles. For about twelve miles the highway led through the open country to the mountains at the mouth of the pass. Inasmuch as my police were marching on foot and the weather was exceedingly warm I directed them to leave camp at daybreak in order that they might escape from the valley before the heat became too oppressive — and to wait for me at the mouth of the pass.

Colonel Oakes was traveling in an ambulance with four mules, while I had a light wagon and was driving four light horses. The colonel and I rolled out of camp just as the buglers sounded "boots and saddles" for the troops. Having the lighter and speedier outfit, I reached the mouth of the pass a mile or two in advance of the colonel. My police had arrived an hour before and were well rested. A great cloud of alkali dust down the valley indicated that the troops were plodding along some three or four miles behind their colonel. When the military ambulance drew up at the mouth of the pass I asked Colonel Oakes if he intended to await the arrival of his cavalry

escort before entering the pass. His response was; "Do you intend to wait for the troops?" I am sure he knew I had no such intention. Anyhow, Colonel Oakes was a "regular fellow" and we were good friends, and so I told him that my escort was only awaiting my orders to resume the march. The colonel smiled and said: "Well Clum, if these police can escort you through the pass they can escort me also, and I'll go right along with you." I assured Colonel Oakes that I would esteem it both a pleasure and an honor to share my escort with him. Thereupon the order was given to proceed. A dozen alert scouts were detailed as the advance guard and these scattered out along the slopes on either side of the pass to watch for "Indian signs" and to forestall a possible ambush, while the main body of the police were divided into front and rear guards for the two conveyances which were transporting the grizzled colonel and myself. Our progress was cautious but genuinely interesting, tinged with a wierd fascination which was not marred by any overt act on the part of the Chiricahuas, and we arrived at Fort Bowie safely an hour in advance of the colonel's cavalry.

Thus it transpired that instead of accepting a company of the sixth cavalry to serve as my personal escort on this trip, I escorted the colonel of that regiment over the most dangerous section of the march with my "personal body-guard and free-lance army" of Apache police — and I know that our stealthy advance through Apache Pass registered a page in Colonel Oakes' memory that was unique among his varied military experiences.

The Chiricahua agency was located about a mile west from Fort Bowie and when I arrived there at noon on June 5, 1876, I found both Tah-zay and Nah-chee, the young sons of Cochise — heroes now after their successful fight with the old war-chiefs — were there to greet me, and as soon as I had explained to them fully the purpose of my visit they readily consented to the proposed removal of their band to the San Carlos reservation.

At this time Agent Jeffords informed me that there was another band of Indians on the reservation known as "Southern Chiricahuas;" that these Indians really belonged in Mexico, but when Cochise made the treaty with General Howard *the Southern Chiricahuas elected to include themselves in that treaty*, and ever since had been reporting quite regularly at the agency for their rations; that the recognized chiefs of this band were Eronemo, (Geronimo), Hoo and Nol-gee, and that these chiefs desired to have an interview with me.¹

Although I had been actively associated with the affairs of the Arizona Apaches for two years I had never before heard of Geronimo, and my first meeting with the Indian occurred on the afternoon of June 8, 1876. Accompanied by Hoo and Nol-gee, he related to me how he and his people had joined in the Howard treaty, and now that the young were going to San Carlos the Southern Chiricahuas desired to go there also. His families, however, were some twenty miles distant down near the Mexican line, and he only desired permission to go and bring them in. Although this permission was finally granted, the general demeanor of the wily savage did not inspire complete confidence, and accordingly some of my scouts were dispatched to shadow his movements.

Geronimo hastened to rejoin his followers, who, in fact, were then located only about ten miles distant from Apache Pass. A few brief orders were quickly given and at once the quiet camp was transformed into a scene of active but cautious preparations for a rapid march. Every bit of superfluous equipage was cast aside. The feeble and disabled horses were killed, as well as the dogs — lest their bark should betray the secret camp of the fleeing savages. As soon as these preparations had been completed the Southern Chiricahuas, with Geronimo in command, moved

1. Agent Jeffords informed me that the name of this Indian was "Eronemo," and it is so spelled in my official annual report for 1876. In my annual report for 1877 the name is spelled "Heronemo," which is the English pronunciation of the Spanish name "Geronimo."

rapidly to the Mexican line and thence to the Sierra Madre mountains, their former home, and which for years after became the stronghold of the renegades.

As soon as my scouts discovered the abandoned camp of the renegades with its many evidences of a hasty flight they lost no time in reporting the same to me. Immediately I conveyed this information to General Kautz, commanding the Department of Arizona and who was then at Fort Bowie, and requested him to send some troops to bring back or punish the fleeing Indians. Major Morrow, who, with three companies of cavalry and a company of Indian scouts was stationed in the San Simon valley just east of Apache Pass, was ordered in pursuit, and although he took up the trail immediately and followed rapidly into Mexico, Geronimo succeeded in making good his escape with all his families and effects.²

These events introduced Geronimo to the country as a renegade. Prior to this time he was positively unknown either as "Eronemo," "Heronemo" or "Geronimo" outside the limits of the Chiricahua reservation and his native haunts in Sonora. He was a full-blooded Apache, and Agent Jeffords is authority for the assertion that he was born near Janos, Mexico.

During the evening of June 8th a very dark, mean looking Indian came into the agency and announced that he was a member of Pi-on-se-nay's party; that his chief was badly wounded and desired to know upon what terms he might surrender to me. I told him that Pi-on-se-nay was a murderer and would be treated as such, whereupon the messenger expressed the opinion that his chief would not surrender. At once I summoned Tau-el-cly-ee, my sergeant of police, and instructed him to select twenty of his best men and bring in Pi-on-se-nay — *alive if convenient*. At the same time I cautioned him to march with

2. My official communication to General Kautz under date of June 9, 1876, advising him of Geronimo's flight and requesting pursuit by the troops, was published in full in the *Arizona Citizen* on July 29, 1876. See copy on file in the Congressional Library.

loaded rifles in order that if there was to be any shooting his men would be able to join in the fray with disconcerting alacrity and deadly effect. Then, pointing to the messenger I said: "This man has just come from Pi-on-se-nay's camp. He will go with you. If he proves a good guide bring him back, but if not — well, then I don't care to see him again." The sergeant simply grinned and said: "She bu-ken-see" (I understand). I then took a Winchester rifle and a six-shooter from the messenger and told him that *if* he came back I would return his arms to him. He did and I did.

Late the next afternoon Tau-el-cly-ee returned bringing with him Pi-on-se-nay and thirty-eight other prisoners — mostly women and children. Inasmuch as Pi-on-se-nay had been at large over two months since the killing of Rodgers and Spence the citizens of the territory were extremely anxious to know what might be transpiring at Apache Pass. Therefore I wired Governor Safford brief details of the murderer's arrest, and also informed him that it was my purpose to bring Pi-on-se-nay to Tucson for confinement and speedy trial in the federal courts. Within a few days I had good reason for regretting that I had advised the governor of my plan to bring the prisoner to Tucson.

Tah-zay's bullet had made an ugly wound in Pi-on-se-nay's right shoulder. This wound was carefully dressed daily by the post surgeon at Fort Bowie, and in the meantime my police mounted a double guard over the dangerous prisoner.

Arrangements for the removal were speedily completed; a freight train of "prairie schooners" operated by the firm of "Barnett & Block" was in readiness for the transportation of "baggage" and invalids, and on June 12th the sons of Cochise — with their followers, families and effects left Apache Pass and started for the San Carlos reservation without protest. The company totaled 325 men, women and children — escorted by my Indian police.

As soon as I had seen this picturesque caravan well

on its way out of Apache Pass I returned to the agency for the prisoner, who had been left in the sole custody of that most dependable aide — Sergeant Tau-el-cly-ee. For my personal transportation I was using a single seated rig and four horses. Placing Pi-on-se-nay on the seat beside me I directed Tau-el-cly-ee to follow close behind, mounted on his faithful steed. Within a couple of hours we had rejoined the caravan, which had struck camp for the night at Ewell Springs, in the foothills of the Dos Cabezas range.

As a striking type of the genuine Apache war-chief Pi-on-se-nay towered as if created for the part. He was a trifle over six feet tall, straight as an arrow, lithe as a panther. His form was that of an ideal athlete; a frame of iron compactly bound with sinews of steel — indicating strength, speed and endurance; clean-cut features as if chiselled by a sculptor; an eye as keen but less friendly than that of Geronimo, and a complexion almost black. Although he was nursing a serious wound during the time he was in my custody, he impressed me as being an Indian who could give a splendid account of himself in any combat, and one whom I would rather not meet alone on the trail if he were in an unfriendly mood.

Because of the apparent painful nature of his wound no shackles had been placed on Pi-on-se-nay. Nevertheless Tau-el-cly-ee and I were inclined to take every reasonable precaution against the possible escape of our wily and dangerous prisoner during the night. Accordingly we spread a pair of blankets on the ground, and having allowed Pi-on-se-nay to make himself as comfortable as possible in the center of these, we spread a single blanket over the wounded Indian — weighting down the overlapping ends of this blanket with our own precious bodies as we stretched out for the night on opposite sides of the prisoner. If we slept at all it was with one eye open — as the saying goes.

June 13th proved to be a very hot day as well as an unlucky day so far as my plans for Pi-on-se-nay were concerned. The main caravan was in motion at daybreak,

for the next camping grounds with water was at Point-of-Mountain stage station — thirty miles distant across the Sulpher Springs valley with its long stretches of alkali shimmering under the blaze of the June sun. Having seen the last of the Chiricahuas on their way, I harnessed up my four-in-hand, adjusted Pi-on-se-nay on the seat beside me and headed westward with Tau-el-cly-ee and his sturdy charger bringing up the rear.

The duties and responsibilities of the last week had proved a test of endurance and after a dozen or more miles in the June heat and alkali dust I became a bit drowsy and, for an instant, my eyes closed. When I opened them my dark-visaged companion was glaring at me. Without appearing to heed his gaze I purposely allowed my head to nod a couple of times and closed my eyes again. When I suddenly roused myself an instant later "my friend the Indian" had straightened up his stately form, turned in his seat until he was facing me, and his flashing eyes bespoke the intense excitement he strove to control. He had no weapons. Was he hoping for a chance to snatch one from my belt — my knife, — my six shooter? I dunno. Anyhow, these considerations served to keep me wide awake until we drew rein in front of Tom Williams' road-house at Point-of-Mountain.

Among the first to greet me at this station was Deputy Sheriff Charlie Shibell and his assistant, Ad Linn, armed with a warrant for Pi-on-se-nay. I had planned to convey the prisoner to Tucson personally, with a guard of Indian police, but the deputy sheriffs with the warrant held the right of way. So I delivered Pi-on-se-nay into their custody about two o'clock p. m. on that thirteenth day of June, and at nine o'clock that same evening the old war-chief escaped. This, of course was a great misfortune, as the trial and punishment of this murderer under the direction of the federal courts would have had a most beneficial and far-reaching influence among the Apaches of Arizona. And what grieved me more was the firm conviction that

if Pi-on-se-nay had remained in my custody the Indian police would have landed him in the jail at Tucson not later than June 15, 1876. Pi-on-se-nay was killed in Mexico about two years later.

The following is quoted from my annual report for 1876 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

On June 18th the Chiricahua Indians were located on the San Carlos reservation without trouble or accident. The terrible shade of that tribe's dreaded name had passed away, and the imaginary army of four or five hundred formidable warriors had dwindled to the modest number of sixty half-armed and less clothed savages.

In the fall of 1876 I took a score of Apaches, including Tah-zay, on a trip to the east. While visiting at Washington Tah-zay was stricken with pneumonia and died. He is buried in the Congressional Cemetery — where his ashes rest amid the graves of many other distinguished Americans. General O. O. Howard, who made the treaty with Tah-zay's father four years prior, attended the funeral.

With the removal of the Cochise Indians to San Carlos the Chiricahua reservation was abandoned, hence it was no longer convenient for Geronimo and his band to step from Mexico onto the reservation and again from the reservation back into Mexico. While this was a decided handicap to the renegades it did not deter them from making frequent raids through southeastern Arizona and across into southwestern New Mexico, where they had friends among the former followers of old Mangus Colorado — one of whom was Ponce, who accompanied General Howard into Cochise's stronghold. Troops were frequently sent out for the purpose of intercepting and punishing these marauding bands, but Geronimo succeeded in evading pursuit until the San Carlos police were again ordered on his trail.

The dissatisfaction of the people of Arizona with the inadequate protection afforded settlers in the southeastern

part of the territory by the military, and the ineffectual efforts of the troops to apprehend and punish the bands of renegade Apaches who were making too frequent raids between Sonora and New Mexico, was expressed in no uncertain terms by the territorial legislature. On February 8, 1877, that body passed an appropriation of \$10,000, and authorized the governor to enroll sixty militia for the protection of citizens against hostile Indians.

Immediately Governor Safford wired me a request for sixty of my San Carlos police to serve as territorial militia against the renegades. I advised the governor that I would be happy to comply with his request provided Captain Beauford, my chief of police, could be placed in charge of this militia company, as I did not deem it wise to send these Apache police out under the command of a stranger. Governor Safford promptly gave his hearty approval to my suggestion. On February 20th I arrived in Tucson with this company of police and turned them over to the governor. Without delay Captain Beauford and the Indians were enrolled as territorial militia, equipped and rationed and, on February 23rd, were despatched for active scouting in southeastern Arizona.

My "school days" included a three years' course at a military academy, and during the last two years at that institution I held the rank of captain. This, of course, made me familiar with the manual of arms and company drill, and as we had four companies we frequently indulged in skirmish and battalion drills.. Because of my fondness for military maneuvers I had amused myself sometimes by drilling my Indian police. A pleasing result of this "pastime" is shown in a photograph of my body-guard taken at Tucson in May, 1876, in which the company is formed in "a column of twos."

The transfer of a body of Apache police to the governor of Arizona for service as territorial militia in a campaign against hostile Indians was a unique event in frontier history. Such a momentous occasion seemed to de-

mand some elaborate and spectacular ceremony, and nothing could be more appropriate than a military gesture with the firing of a salute by the entire company as a climax. The Apache police had never heard of "blank cartridges" and therefore it seemed to them entirely proper that ball cartridges should be used in firing the salute, in which opinion I heartily concurred — inasmuch as no "blanks" were obtainable. The trail from San Carlos to Tucson measured about 125 miles, and short drills were held each morning and evening while en route. As the Indians entered heartily into the spirit of the game we were able to make a very creditable showing when the fateful moment arrived for our grand act.

On reaching Tucson I marched the company in a column of twos to the "Governor's Palace." Here the company was halted and stood at "parade rest," facing the "palace," while I rapped at the door. As soon as the governor appeared the company was brought to "attention." Orders were then given for the following evolutions; "Carry arms;" "Rear open order;" "About face;" "Load;" "Aim;" "Fire;" "Recover arms;" "About face;" "Close order;" "Present arms." These orders were given in English and the evolutions followed the old Upton tactics. Having fired the salute and with the company standing at "present," I made my most graceful personal salutation to the governor — AND DELIVERED THE GOODS.

The following local item appeared in the *Arizona Citizen* (Tucson), Saturday, February 24, 1877.³

Indian Agent John P. Clum arrived here on Tuesday with sixty stalwart armed Apaches from San Carlos reservation, with a view to their enlistment under the call of the governor in pursuance of an act of the late legislature. Mr. Clum marched them in front of the governor's office where they fired a salute and were inspected by the governor. Afterward they were assigned Tully, Ochoa & Co's large corral as a camping ground where they remained until leaving for the field Friday. Their conduct was order-

3. On file in the Congressional Library.

ly and highly creditable in every way. Captain Beauford informed us that he did not even have to speak to any of them in a corrective tone. Agent Clum in this instance has done the public a very valuable service and given another of many proofs of his desire to promote the welfare of the people generally.

Meanwhile there were reports of frequent raids in which stock was stolen and traded off at the small towns along the Rio Grande, thus adding much to the prosperity of the renegades. It so happened that Lieutenant Henley, who led the troops from Bowie on the trail of Pi-on-se-nay in April, 1876, was passing through the Rio Grande valley in the latter part of February, 1877. There he saw Geronimo, whither he had come on one of his *trading tours*. Lieut. Henley at once telegraphed to General Kautz that he had seen Geronimo in the vicinity of Las Palomas, and that the renegade undoubtedly was making his headquarters at the Southern Apache Agency, at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico. General Kautz telegraphed this information to the War Department and that department transmitted the facts to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The result was the following telegram to me:

Washington, D. C., March 20, 1877.

Agent Clum, San Carlos:

If practicable take Indian Police and arrest renegade Indians at Southern Apache Agency; sieze stolen horses in their possession, restore property to rightful owners, remove renegades to San Carlos and hold them in confinement for murder and robbery. Call on military for aid if needed.

(Signed) Smith, Commissioner.

These orders imposed upon me one of the most important and exciting campaigns I have ever undertaken. With the approval of Governor Safford, I sent a courier to Captain Beauford directing him to proceed at once to Silver City, N. M., with his company, and having enrolled

about forty additional police at San Carlos I hastened to join Beauford at Silver City. At that point the "Arizona Apache Territorial Militia" were taken over by me, their names once more entered upon the agency pay roll — Captain Beauford included. Having thus been reinstated as members of the San Carlos Indian Police Force they were merged with the company I had brought with me from San Carlos, and the entire body proceeded thenceforth under my direction. The distance by trail from San Carlos to Ojo Caliente is something like 350 or 400 miles, and the greater part of my little army of Indians measured the entire distance of the round trip on foot.

General Hatch was in command of the Department of New Mexico with headquarters at Santa Fe. Just before leaving San Carlos I sent a despatch to General Hatch advising him of the nature of my orders and requesting him to assign sufficient troops at convenient stations in the field to co-operate in the protection of the citizens of southwestern New Mexico should serious trouble occur. At Fort Bayard I received a reply from General Hatch informing me that in compliance with my request he had ordered eight companies of the ninth cavalry into the field. Having completed all preliminary details I left Silver City with my police and started on the long trek over the mountains to Ojo Caliente. All along the route we were warned that the main body of the renegades was gathered in the vicinity of the Southern Apache Agency; that this aggregation totaled from 250 to 400 well armed, desperate Indians, and that these rude and ruthless redskins were impatiently waiting for an opportunity to greet us in the most enthusiastic fashion. These rumors served to sustain the interest in our march into New Mexico.

At Fort Bayard it had been arranged that Major Wade, commanding the troops in the field, and who was then at Fort Union, should meet me at Ojo Caliente with three companies of cavalry on the morning of April 21st, but when I arrived at that point on the evening of April 20th

I found there a telegram from Major Wade advising me that he would not be able to reach Ojo Caliente until April 22nd.

Doubtless this delay was unavoidable, but it placed the full responsibility of a most serious situation squarely up to me. It was obvious that if I remained two days at Ojo Caliente with my San Carlos police there would not be a renegade within fifty miles of that point. But troops were now co-operating *at my request*. If I took any action against the renegades without consulting the officer commanding the troops in the field I must be SOLELY responsible for the results.

I had sent a dependable scout to Ojo Caliente several days in advance of my arrival and he informed me that Geronimo with between 80 and 100 followers was then camped about three miles from the agency, and that he had come in to the agency that very day for rations. We had been on the trail nearly a month and had marched all the way from San Carlos for the special purpose of ARRESTING GERONIMO. Our only chance for success was through prompt and resolute action. In these circumstances I determined that we would undertake to make the arrest without delay — relying entirely upon the loyalty and efficiency of the Apache police.

As before stated, most of my police were on foot. We had marched cautiously to within twenty miles of the agency — where we had camped at noon on April 20th. There I selected twenty-two Apache scouts who had horses as a special body-guard to accompany me to the agency, where we arrived shortly before sundown. Captain Beauford was instructed to bring the main body of the police to a spring about ten miles from the agency that evening, and to complete the march to the agency leisurely the following morning.

This proved a most fortunate maneuver. The renegades knew that some Indian police were on the trail from Arizona, but they did not know how many, and their gen-

eral attitude after my arrival at the agency convinced me that they were of the opinion that the twenty-two police who escorted me in constituted my entire force. Upon this hypothesis I based my plan of action.

The main agency building faced the east, fronting on a large parade ground. About fifty yards to the south stood a large commissary building which, happily, was vacant. From this commissary building a row of employee quarters extended eastward along the south line of the parade ground, while the east and north limits of the parade ground were marked by a deep ravine. Such was the general plan of the field on which I hoped the renegades might speedily be lured to their Waterloo.

As soon as it was dark I despatched a courier to Captain Beauford with orders to bring his reserves in before daylight — and to observe the utmost caution and quiet in approaching the agency. At about 4 a. m. the reserves, numbering about eighty, arrived and were at once quartered in the convenient commissary building, each man with thirty rounds of fixed ammunition AND HIS GUN LOADED. This bit of strategem, in which the innocent commissary building was destined to duplicate the trick of the famous TROJAN HORSE, operated so effectively that it has been a matter of self-congratulation ever since.

At daylight I sent a messenger to the renegade camp to inform Geronimo and the other chiefs that I desired to have a "talk" with them. They came quickly — a motley clan, painted and equipped for a fight. Supported by a half-dozen of my police I took my position on the porch of the main agency building over-looking the parade ground. The remainder of my special escort of twenty-two were deployed in an irregular skirmish line — half of them northward toward the ravine, and the other half southward to the commissary building. Captain Beauford had his station half-way between me and the commissary, and, let me repeat, every man had thirty rounds of fixed ammunition AND HIS GUN LOADED.

The police were instructed to be constantly on the alert and ready for instant combat, but not to shoot: (1) unless ordered to do so by either Captain Beauford or myself; (2) unless Captain Beauford or I began shooting; (3) unless the renegades began shooting. The reserves were instructed that at a signal from Captain Beauford their sergeant would swing wide the great commissary doors and then race eastward along the south line of the parade ground, and they were to follow hot on his trail at intervals of about two paces — every man with his thumb on the hammer of his gun.

Because the renegades believed they held a decided advantage in the matter of numbers I did not think they would hesitate to assemble on the parade ground in front of my position — and this proved true. They came trailing in just as the sun rose gloriously above the New Mexican ranges. Was this to be the final sunrise for some, or many, of us who were watching it — and each other — so anxiously?

Sullen and defiant, the renegades were finally gathered in a fairly compact group in front of me, and, as is their custom on such occasions, their most daring men (and just the men I wanted — such as Geronimo, Gordo, Ponce, Francisco, etc.) were pressed forward as a menace to my personal safety. They fully appreciate that the immediate presence of such desperate characters, fully armed and smeared with paint, is anything but reassuring to a "pale-face."

Promptly I addressed my exceedingly picturesque audience, telling them that I had come a long distance on a very important mission, but if they would listen to my words "with good ears" no serious harm would be done to them. With equal promptness Geronimo replied that if I spoke with discretion no serious harm would be done to us — or words to that effect. This defiant attitude convinced me that it would be useless to continue the parley. The crisis had arrived. The hour had struck which

was to determine the success or failure of our expedition. The excitement, though suppressed, was keen. Would they, upon discovering our superior force and arms, submit without a struggle, or would the next moment precipitate a hand-to-hand fight to the death between these desperate renegades and the bravest and best fighters the Apache tribes of Arizona could produce? On either side were the most determined of men. The slightest cause might change the history of the day.

The situation demanded action — *prompt action*, and very promptly the signal was given. Instantly the commissary portals swung open and Sergeant Rip started his sprint along the south line of the parade grounds. As if by magic the reserves came swarming out from the commissary, and, in single file, leaped after their sergeant at top speed with intervals that left room for the free use of their weapons. We had started the "action" — most impressive and spectacular action, with those lithe Apache police bounding along, each with his thumb on the hammer of his loaded rifle, - alert, - ready and, thus far, in comparative silence.

However, the release of the reserves had not failed to startle the renegades. At the same time there was enacted a little side-play which, in my judgment, was potent in deciding the issues of the day. At the first sight of the reserves emerging from the old commissary building a half-dozen of the straggling followers of the hostiles started to move away from the parade ground. When these failed to obey our orders to return, Captain Beauford raised his rifle and leveled it at one of the would-be fugitives. There are always a few belligerent squaws who insist upon intruding whenever a "war-talk" is in progress and one of these athletic ladies had stationed herself, doubtless designedly, close by our stalwart chief of police. With a wild yell she sprang upon Beauford and clung to his neck and arms in such a manner as to draw down his rifle — making a superb "tackle" and "interference." I had been

keeping my two eyes on Geronimo, but with the echo of that genuine Apache yell I turned just in time to appreciate Beauford's expression of profound disgust when he discovered that he had been captured by a squaw. Then he swung that great right arm to which the lady was clinging and she landed ingloriously on the parade ground — and at a respectful distance. Really, a bit of comedy injected into a most serious situation.

This episode consumed less than a minute, but it held the attention of the entire audience and enabled us to get fifteen or twenty additional police in that galloping skirmish line. Also, when Captain Beauford raised his gun the second time the police indicated that they were ready to follow his lead — if shooting was to become general. All of which produced a most wholesome effect on the minds of the renegades. In the meantime the maneuver of the reserves was such a complete surprise and had been executed with such dash and daring that before the renegades fully realized what was happening they found themselves at the mercy of a threatened cross-fire from our two skirmish lines which were now deployed on the west and south sides of the parade grounds, with the angle at the old commissary building. Geronimo was quick to comprehend the hopelessness of his position. Thereupon he recalled the stragglers and readily agreed to a "conference."

Immediately I directed Geronimo and three or four of his lieutenants to come to the porch where I was standing. Their compliance was stoical. Feeling assured that the crucial moment had passed, I handed my rifle to one of my police and told Geronimo that as we were to have a "peace talk" we would both lay aside our arms. Geronimo frowned his objection, but we had the advantage. I took his gun from him — a bit rudely perhaps — and the same is still in my possession, a much prized trophy of that expedition.

Having taken the guns from half-a-dozen other "bad men" we settled down for the "peace talk." Geronimo

adjusted himself in a squatting position on the porch immediately in front of me. I began by reminding him that we had met nearly a year before at Apache Pass when he had agreed to accompany the Chiricahua Indian to San Carlos. To this he replied: "Yes, and you gave me a pass to go out and bring in my people, but I could not get back within the time you allowed, so I did not return — I was afraid." In a most serious manner I told him the story of the killing of his dogs and old horses; his deserted camp; his hasty march into Sonora; the pursuit of the troops, etc., and suggested that if he had really desired to go to San Carlos he would not have hot-footed it in the opposite direction. He gave me a fierce glance but made no reply. "Well," I continued, "I must be your good friend because I have traveled so far to see you again. Now I want to keep you with me and to know where you are, and so I will provide you with a special escort and then you will not stray away and be afraid to return." Geronimo glared in sullen silence.

Thereupon I ordered him to go with the police to the guardhouse. He did not move. Then I added: "You must go now." Like a flash he leaped to his feet. There was a picture I shall never forget. He stood erect as a mountain pine, while every outline of his symmetrical form indicated strength and endurance. His abundant ebon locks draped his ample shoulders, his stern features, his keen piercing eye, and his proud and graceful posture combined to create in him the model of an Apache war-chief. There he stood — GERONIMO THE RENEGADE, a form commanding admiration, a name and character dreaded by all. His eyes blazed fiercely under the excitement of the moment and his form quivered with a suppressed rage. From his demeanor it was evident to all that he was hesitating between two purposes, whether to draw his knife, his only remaining weapon, cut right and left and die fighting — or to surrender?

My police were not slow in discerning the thoughts of

the renegade. Instantly Sergeant Rip sprang forward and snatched the knife from Geronimo's belt, while the muzzles of a half-dozen needle-guns in the hands of Beauford and the police were pressed toward him — their locks clicking almost in unison as the hammers were drawn back. With flashing eyes he permitted himself to indulge in a single swift, defiant glance at his captors. Then his features relaxed and he said calmly; "In-gew" (All right) — and thus was accomplished the first and only *bona fide capture* of GERONIMO THE RENEGADE.

The prisoner was forthwith escorted to the blacksmith shop, and thence to the guard-house. At the blacksmith shop shackles were riveted on the prisoner's ankles. These were never removed while he remained in my custody, and never should have been removed except to allow him to walk untrammelled to the scaffold.

Immediately following the arrest of Geronimo six other renegades were taken into custody, disarmed and shackled — one of whom was "Ponce." But, at that time, I had no idea I was arresting an Indian who had been a trusted and useful member of General Howard's official party on his important mission to Cochise's Stronghold. While en route over the mountains from Silver City to Ojo Caliente we had cut the "hot" trail of a raiding band which my scouts found led back to the Warm Springs reservation. After my arrival at the agency I learned that this band had preceded us there only a couple of days; that they had brought in some stolen stock; that Ponce was the leader of this band, and that he exerted a great influence among the renegades. This was all I knew of Ponce, and it was on this record that I caused his arrest.

And thus it transpired that when Major Wade finally arrived at Ojo Caliente with his escort of cavalry on April 22nd, Geronimo and the other principal renegades had been arrested and shackled and were under guard by the San Carlos police.

My orders from Washington under date of March 20th

having been successfully executed, it was decided that Captain Beauford with the main body of police should start on their return march to Arizona without delay with the hope of intercepting some small bands of renegades who were believed to be raiding between Ojo Caliente and the Dos Cabezas mountains. Accordingly I selected twenty-five of the police to serve as my personal escort and guard for the prisoners, and furnished the remainder with thirty days' rations and 3000 rounds of ammunition. Thus equipped and in high spirits Captain Beauford and his command took the homeward-bound trail on the morning of April 23rd.

About this time I received a telegram from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs directing me to take all of the Indians at the Warm Springs Agency to San Carlos "if, upon consultation with the military authorities, such action was demand desirable." General Hatch and his staff heartily favored the proposed removal and arrangements were at once made to that effect.

Victorio, who later became notorious as a desperate renegade, was the recognized chief of the Warm Springs Indians at that time, and neither he nor any of his followers made serious objection to the removal after they had learned from me and my police force the manner in which all Indians were cared for at San Carlos.

As these Indians had very few "household effects," and a majority of them had been living under conditions which made it necessary for them to be "ready to move at a moment's notice," all preparations for the march to San Carlos were quickly concluded.

General Hatch had not only been cordial in his cooperation but had been most generous in his commendations of the splendid results accomplished by the San Carlos Apache police. In these circumstances I felt it would be courteous to request him to detail a small escort of cavalry to accompany the main body of the War Springs Indians over the trail to San Carlos. I even argued that such

an escort was desirable owing to the fact that Captain Beauford and his command were well on their way to Silver City before the order for this removal was received, therefore no police were available to serve as an escort. General Hatch was both cheerful and prompt in complying with my request. Lieutenant Hugo and a few troopers were detailed for this duty.

May 1, 1877, was the date set for our departure from Ojo Caliente and all seemed in readiness for the start to Arizona. But on that morning while hurrying about to assure myself that all were actually on the move I saw an Indian sitting on a step in front of one of the employe quarters, his elbows on his knees, his face in his hands and his loose hair covering both face and hands. When I spoke to him he simply moaned. Very soon I discovered that this Indian had smallpox. The situation was desperate. We must start on the return trip. This Indian could not travel with the others, and I could not leave him alone to die. Fortunately one of my police men had had the disease and was immune. He consented to drive the team assigned to convey the sick Indian in a hastily improvised ambulance. In less than an hour after I first saw the sick Indian his transportation had been provided and he had joined our caravan — however, always maintaining a respectful distance in the rear of the wagon conveying the prisoners.

Mr. M. A. Sweeney, chief clerk at the San Carlos agency, who had preceeded me to Ojo Caliente on scout duty, was given full charge of the main body of the Indians on this march over the mountains to Silver City. An actual count showed 453 men, women and children. This company presented a very long and very thin line as they stretched out along the trail — and at the end of this line followed Lieutenant Hugo and his guard of honor. I have mentioned this "very long and very thin line" and the "guard of honor" for the purpose of correcting the

statement that these Indians were "transported forcibly" from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos.

Lieutenant Hugo was a capable officer and a good fellow — and he led willing troopers, but it was obviously impossible for him to patrol effectively that "very long and very thin line" with thirty or forty soldiers, and if any of those Indians had determined to scatter into the mountains he could not have prevented their going, nor could he have effected their capture with his limited command. The difficulty experienced by troops in their efforts to apprehend and punish fleeing or marauding bands of Indians has been demonstrated too frequently. Moreover, Mr. Sweeney informed me that during this march a majority of the Indians were from ten to twenty mile in advance of this "guard." Even if Captain Beauford and his San Carlos police had been patrolling the trail these could hardly have prevented the escape of small parties had any of the Warm Springs Indians entertained determined opposition to removal to San Carlos.

Having seen the main body of the Indians started on the westward trail, and having arranged for the transportation of the sick Indian by means of the "improvised portable isolation hospital," I could now give my undivided attention to the prisoners. The shackles which the prisoners were wearing were "home-made" and were riveted to the ankles. This made it impracticable to convey them over the trail as they could neither walk nor ride on horseback. Therefore a large transport wagon was provided for their accommodation, into which they were loaded as comfortably as circumstances would permit. Our provisions and camp outfit were carried in another wagon, and at a safe distance behind these two vehicles trailed our "peripatetic pest-house." The special escort of police, all well mounted, were divided into two squads — advance and rear guards, and with my last duty at Ojo Caliente accomplished I mounted my horse, waved a signal which

meant "let's go" — and the tedious trek to San Carlos was begun.

Although homeward bound, the first stage of our journey led us further away from Arizona. In order to pass a spur of the mountains which extended southeasterly from Ojo Caliente it was necessary to follow the wagon road back to Las Palomas on the Rio Grande; thence southwesterly to old Fort Cummings; and thence northwesterly to Silver City where we joined the main body of the Indians who had come over the trail. From Silver City we proceeded westerly over the Burro Mountains and thence to the Gila valley which was followed to the San Carlos reservation.

The smallpox developed a really serious situation as the disease was then prevalent in both New Mexico and Arizona. After we left Silver City our ambulatory hospital was taxed to the limit and several died on the trail. Even after the Indians had been located at their new home on the Gila the malady continued to manifest itself with more or less fatal results.

Barring the ravages of this disease the removal of the Warm Springs Indians was accomplished without serious difficulty or mishap. The prisoners gave us no trouble en route, and on May 20, were safely delivered into the agency guard-house at San Carlos.

The efficiency of the San Carlos Indian Police force once more had been demonstrated in a conspicuous manner. During the round trip the police had traveled approximately 800 miles. A majority of them had covered the entire distance on foot. Unaided by the troops they had accomplished the arrest of Geronimo and sixteen other outlaw Indians. Twenty-five members of this force were detailed as the sole escort and guard to accompany the renegade prisoners while en route in wagons from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos — a distance by the wagon road of fully 500 miles. The anticipated danger of an organized attack and attempt to rescue the prisoners by some of their

renegade friends who were still at large had not materialized, but the police had been constantly alert — prepared for any emergency. For twenty days and twenty nights they had kept faithful watch and vigil, and when the journey ended they delivered their prisoners safely and in irons to the agency police on duty at the guard-house at San Carlos. Sure! They finished the job.

In this narrative of the arrest of Geronimo and the removal of the Warm Springs Indians I have endeavored to present conditions as they existed and events as they occurred with the utmost accuracy, but the facts as I have given them are in conflict with an official statement published on page 61 of the annual report of the Secretary of War for 1877. This conflicting statement is contained in the annual report of Brigadier General John Pope, dated at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, September 15, 1877, as follows: "The Warm Springs Apaches whom, at the request of the Interior Department, I had transported forcibly to the San Carlos Agency in Arizona, . . . etc." This brief and concise pronouncement by General Pope would contribute an interesting item to military history if it were not faulty in several important particulars. First, the Interior Department did not request the military authorities to remove the Warm Springs Indians to Arizona. Second, General Hatch and his staff made no pretense of assuming the responsibilities and directing the details involved in the removal of these Indians. Third, the only Indians "transported forcibly" at that time from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos were the prisoners, and these shackled renegades were arrested and transported by the San Carlos Apache police absolutely unaided by the troops. Fourth, is a fault of omission in that the statement completely ignores the splendid services rendered by the San Carlos Apache police at Ojo Caliente on that eventful day when the troops failed to arrive at the time agreed upon. Outside of the inaccuracies and inequalities as above set forth,

General Pope's report may be accepted as entirely fair and dependable.

My original orders from Washington were to arrest Geronimo and hold him in confinement "for murder and robbery," and I felt that the next step in his career should be a trial in the federal courts, in fact this seemed the only intelligent and just course to pursue. It was obvious that the trial and conviction of this renegade in the regular courts of the "pale-face" would produce a tremendously beneficial moral effect upon the Indians generally, and inasmuch as Pi-on-se-nay had cheated us out of such an example less than a year previous, I was especially desirous of bringing Geronimo to trial.

Accordingly I advised the sheriff of Pima county, at Tucson, that Geronimo was held in the guard-house at San Carlos, in irons, subject to his orders, or the orders of the court he represented; that he was charged with murder and robbery, and that I was anxious to assist in supplying the evidence necessary to secure a conviction. No action was taken by the sheriff and Geronimo was never brought to trial.

ESCALANTE IN DIXIE AND THE
ARIZONA STRIP

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON

INTRODUCTORY

Remarkable among explorations in North America in the later eighteenth century — that time of remarkable explorations in the Southwest and on the Pacific Slope — was the expedition made by Father Escalante in 1776. The friar's aim was two-fold. The government in Mexico desired to open direct communication between old Santa Fé and newly founded Monterey, in Upper California. Escalante had a vision of Indian missions in the West, beyond the Colorado River. Objectives coincided and forces were joined. The governor of New Mexico contributed provisions for the journey. Escalante furnished ideas and driving power. Nine men besides himself made up his little party. Father Domínguez, the other friar, was officially Escalante's superior, and he provided riding horses and pack mules, but actually he was a faithful follower. Don Pedro de Miera went as map maker. Two others in the party, Pedro Cisneros and Joaquín Laín, merited the title of "don"; the rest were of lesser castes — half breeds or Indians. One who knew the Yuta tongue went as interpreter. This proved to be highly important, for all the way through Colorado, Utah, and Arizona, till they crossed the Colorado River on the homeward journey, all the natives encountered were of Yuta stock. Miera made astronomical observations, and drafted a map of curious interest. Escalante himself kept the superb diary which gave the heroic odyssey its place in history. The expedition was made, as Escalante requested, "without noise of arms," and

barter with the Indians for gain was forbidden. To the right and left as they marched along, the eyes of the wayfarers beheld much of the most impressive scenery of the Great West. The journey covered some 2,000 miles, and lasted five months of almost continuous horseback travel. Its memory is one of the historical treasures of four states — New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona.

The start was made at Santa Fé, then a city already as old as Pittsburgh is now. Mounts were fresh and riders exuberant with the prospect of adventure. Northwest the travellers rode across the Rio Grande and up the Chama; over the San Juan to the Dolores; down that stream through southwestern Colorado, skirting the Mesa Verde wonderland. Doubt arose as to a choice of routes and lots were cast. Chance voted for a wide detour to visit the Sabuaganas, so east they turned over Uncompahgre Plateau and north down Uncompahgre River to the Gunnison.

To here they were in known country; henceforward they were pathbreakers. On they rode, east and north over majestic Grand Mesa. Here among the Sabuaganas they picked up two young Laguna Indians, so-called because they lived on the Laguna de los Timpanogos (now Utah Lake). Homeward bound, these new guides led the explorers on another long detour. West they turned down Buzzard Creek; northwest by a dizzy path over Battlement Plateau and across the Colorado River at Una; up Roan Creek and its canyon-bound affluent, Carr Creek; by a fear-inspiring trail up the steep sides of Roan Mountain; north forty miles down the narrow gorge of Douglas Creek past picture-decorated cliffs, to White River at Rangeley; still north over a desert plateau to the ford of Green River above Jensen, Utah. The crossing was made only a few hundred yards from the now famous Dinosaur Quarry, but of these mammoth relics of the remote past Escalante seems to have caught no inkling.

West they turned again, up Duchesne River and over Wasatch Mountains to Lake Utah at Provo, where the

Laguna guides lived. There, under the shadow of imposing, snow-covered Timpanogos Mountain they spent three days, the longest stop of the entire journey. Autumn was advancing, and with new guides the Spaniards continued southwest two hundred miles or more to Black Rock Springs. They were now near the supposed latitude of Monterey, and the plan was to strike west. But here, on October 5, snow fell, and hopes of crossing the great Sierras to California vanished.

So they set their faces toward home. Continuing south they discovered and described the sulphur Hot Springs at Thermo. Inclining slightly eastward they passed Iron Springs and entered Cedar Valley, naming it the Valley of Señor de San José. South they traversed the valley along its western side. Descending Kanarra Creek to Ash Creek and climbing Black Ridge, they dropped down to Virgin River, and entered the summerland now affectionately called "Dixie." But they could not stop to bask in its autumn sunshine, so onward they urged their sorefooted mounts.

Skirting the base of Hurricane Ridge they continued south forty-five miles, across the Arizona boundary, into Lower Hurricane Valley. Now they climbed the cliffs at Old Temple Road. On the arid plateau, burning with thirst, they swung east twelve miles and southeast six, finding a welcome draught at some tanks on the edge of a cedar covered ridge. They were at Cooper's Pockets. Here the Indians warned them of a great chasm ahead — the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. So they swung sharply north and northeast, to find the crossing of which the Indians had told them. A hard march of forty miles carried them over Kanab Creek near Fredonia. Forty more miles east and northeast took them once more across the Utah line and to the head of Buckskin Gulch.

Before them now for a hundred miles lay the hard-

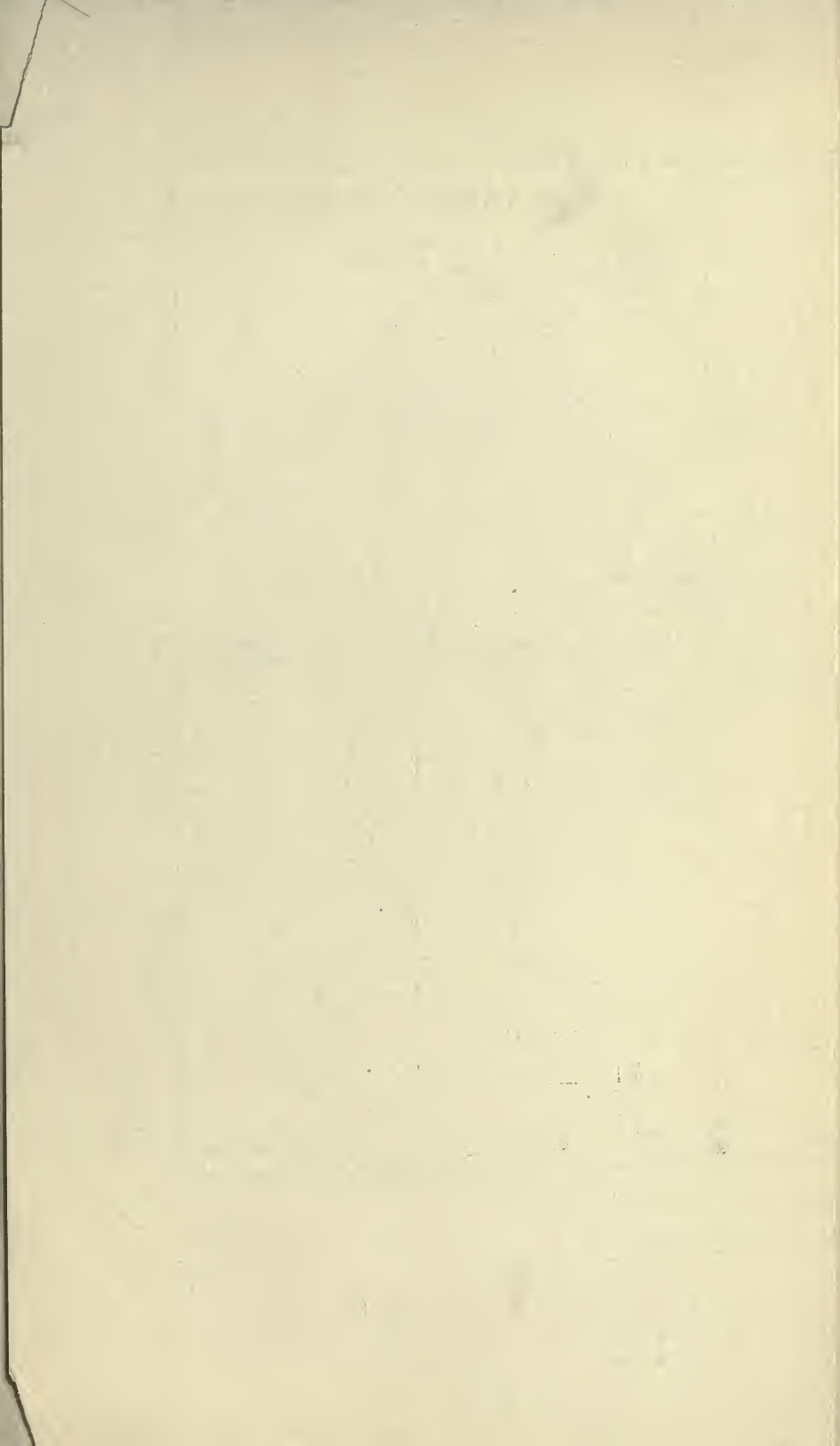
1. This is a local designation for southwestern Utah, given in allusion to its semitropical climate.

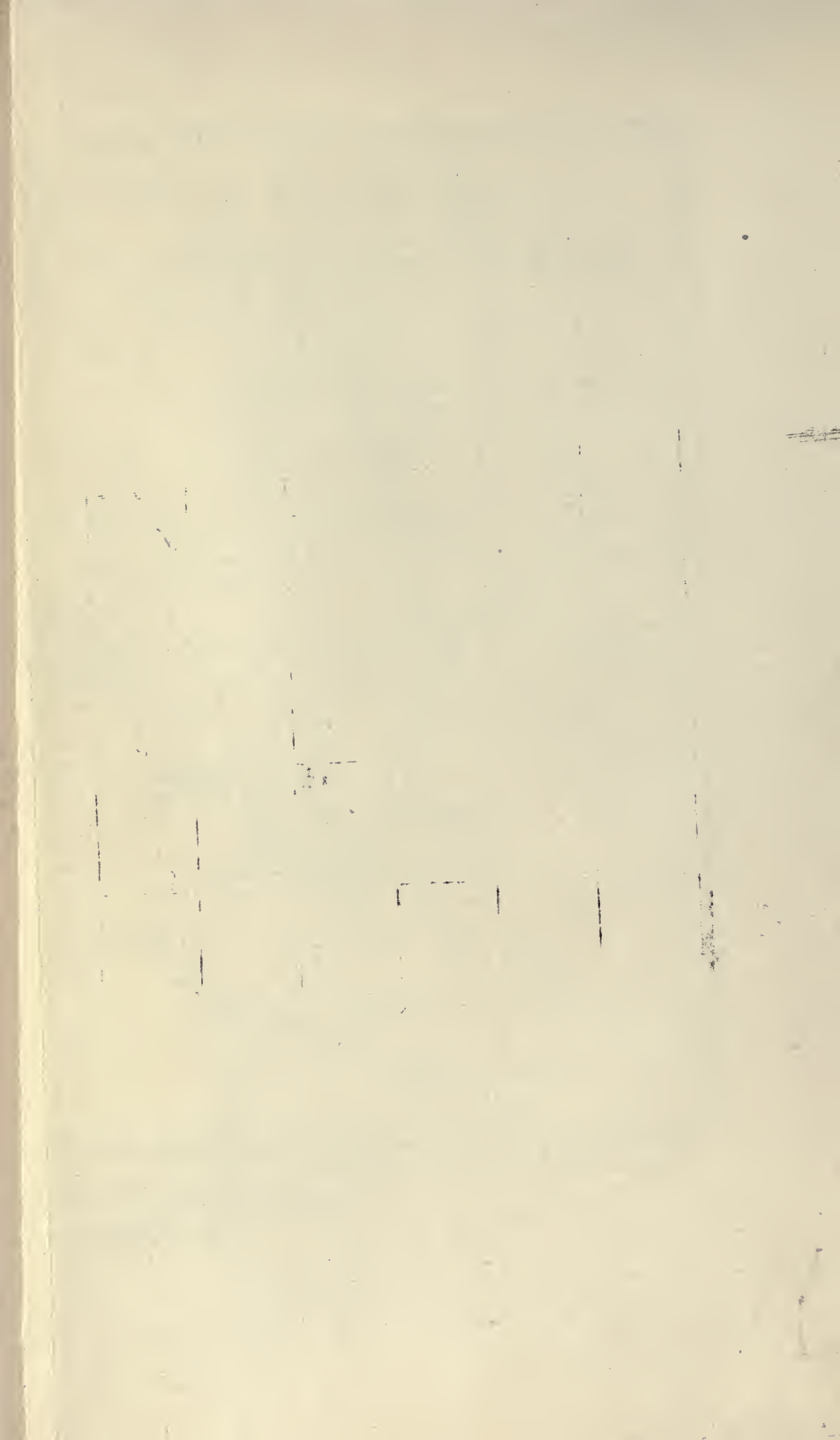
est part of the journey. Buckskin Mountains, the low ridge to the east, looked innocent enough, but to cross their rugged hogbacks almost over-taxed both horses and men. To find a ford across the Colorado cost a week of anguish and of transcendent toil. The gorge of Navajo Creek was scarcely easier. And in the weakened condition of men and horses, the long, dry desert thence to Oraibe seemed to stretch out interminably.

But it is always darkest just before dawn. Supplies obtained from the Hopis renewed waning strength. From Oraibe home the way was well known. Zúñi, Escalante's own mission, was the next station on the road, and thence, after a brief rest, the familiar trail was followed past Ácoma and Isleta, and up the fertile, pueblo-dotted valley of the Rio Grande, to home and friends. The start had been made on July 29. The day before the journey ended the church bells at Santa Fé rang in the New Year.

The purpose of this paper is to set forth the itinerary of the Escalante party through southern Utah and the "Arizona Strip," that part of Arizona lying northwest of the Colorado River.² Trail following in the Southwest has been to me a pastime. In the course of several years I have devoted considerable time to studying Escalante's route as a whole. With his diary in my hand I have followed the greater portion of the historic two thousand mile journey. The results are contained in a forthcoming English edition of the diary and related documents. One outcome of my study is an exalted opinion of Escalante's qualities as observer and diary keeper. With one eye on his record and the other on the topography, it has been possible to identify his precise route almost throughout. His directions are nearly always accurate. His estimates of distance are uncanny — I could easily believe that he had a Dodge speedometer. And his genius at picking out and describing the characteristic natural features along his

2. This name is used especially in southern Utah, to which the portion of Arizona north of the Colorado River is more accessible than to the rest of Arizona.





route is unsurpassed.³ As a consequence, in all the many hundreds of miles over which I have followed him I have scarcely missed a waterhole where he drank or a camp-site where he rested over night.

This is not the place to tell of each of these trail following expeditions, but I can not refrain from alluding to the numerous cherished friendships which I have formed with the members of my various parties, and with residents along Escalante's trail who with me have thrilled with the romance hovering round the old journal as we have read it together, here and there, in the presence of the very mountains, the groves, and the streams which he embalmed in his record. For the part of the trail dealt with in this paper I may mention personalities. In the summer of 1926 I followed the Escalante route through southern Utah to the Arizona line. My companions then were Mr. Tennyson Atkin, Mr. William Mc Swain, and Mr. Gustive O. Larson. Last summer I took up the trail again and followed it through the Arizona Strip to the head of Buckskin Mountains. With me on this trip were Mr. Joseph Atkin and Professor L. H. Reid of Dixie College, St. George. My tracking of Escalante through these regions will always be associated in memory with these five rare spirits.⁴

In setting forth his itinerary through Dixie and the Arizona Strip I shall let Escalante tell his own story, confining myself to a few general considerations, to editorial comments and to notes devoted to identifying the route. The accompanying map was compiled by me on the basis of actual exploration, combined with data on the United States topographic sheets and other maps. The extract from the diary which I here reproduce begins with a sketch

3. Escalante's latitudes are generally inaccurate, and of little value, except for comparative purposes, in determining the route. This is true of most Spanish diaries of land expeditions in the west before the end of the eighteenth century.

4. The personnel of my other parties will be found recorded in my book in connection with the respective portions of the trail.

of Cedar Valley (the Valley of Señor San José) made after Escalante had passed through it.⁵

THE JOURNEY THROUGH DIXIE AND THE ARIZONA STRIP

That portion of Southern Utah traversed by Escalante is one of peculiar charm. As he approached Cedar Valley he skirted on his right the vast, windswept plain of gorgeous sunsets, by him called Nuestra Señora de la Luz and now known as Escalante Desert. His entry into Cedar Valley was over the cedar covered ridge that forms its western wall. Iron Springs, where he camped, then poured forth a stream which he dignified by the name of "river." In the floor of the valley, northwest of the site of Cedar City, he found troublesome marshes. Northward stretched its grass covered plain, widening toward its head in the hill-bound distance. Eastward, across the valley, towered Wasatch Mountains, hiding from the weary travellers the now world-famous gorges at Cedar Brakes. Southward the valley narrowed, walled between the Wasatch on the east and Iron Mountain on the west, with lofty Pine Mountain in the southwest. Below New Harmony his San José Valley came abruptly to an end at Black Ridge, where its waters find an outlet through Ash Creek gorge to Virgin River.

From Black Ridge Escalante dropped rapidly down to the Dixie lowlands and camped at Toquerville. Just a few miles to the east of his route lay Zion Canyon, of whose exquisite beauties he was oblivious. Here, near Toquerville, begins the sheer, high cliff called Hurricane Fault, or

5. I present here my own translation of the diary. One of my former students, Miss Hazel Power, made an excellent translation, but has never brought it to fruition by publication. Her version has been useful to me in revising my own. But Miss Power had never been over the route, and, as was to be expected, I find that there are numerous passages whose meaning is clear only to one who has been on the ground. Harris published a pseudo translation some years ago. It served a useful purpose, but it is so inaccurate that it is not a reliable guide to the identification of the route. My version is based on the text published in 1854 in the *Documentos para la historia de Mexico* (Segunda Serie, Tomo I Mexico, 1856), supplemented by the MS. version in the Archivo General de Indias.

Hurricane Ridge, which Escalante now kept on his left for more than fifty miles. At Hurricane, near an imposing volcanic ash cone, he crossed Virgin River, where it is joined by Ash and La Verkin creeks. Southward before him stretched Hurricane Valley, sharply marked by Hurricane Ridge on the east and reaching out to the red sand hills and toward Beaver Mountains on the west. Near the state line he found the valley divided by a low transverse ridge that skirts Fort Pierce Creek. Black Canyon afforded him a way through this obstacle, and Lower Hurricane Valley opened out before him into a broad expanse, now an excellent sheep range, rising into uplands on the west but still walled in on the east by Hurricane Ridge.

At Old Temple Road Escalante climbed the forbidding height. There he found himself on a vast dry plateau, broken by symmetrical black ash cones, round topped hills, cedar covered ridges, and black cliffed mesas. South of his route towered rugged Mount Trumbull, beyond which the earth was cut in two by the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. To avoid this yawning chasm and to find a crossing Escalante swung northeast, leaving Little Hurricane Ridge and Kanab Gulch on his right and Yellowstone Cliffs on his left. Now skirting Vermillion Cliffs, he entered Buckskin Gulch, with Kaibab Plateau at his back and Buckskin Mountains on his right. This range was crossed near its head, a few miles south of Paria. From here Escalante swung southeast again to find the crossing of the Colorado. He had now left the Arizona Strip behind, and for the present we shall follow him no further.

From Provo to Hurricane the tourist in his automobile for much of the way is on or near Escalante's route. As far as Juab he is practically on the trail. At Scipio he touches it again for a league or two. At Scipio Pass he leaves it at his right for a hundred miles, and approaches it again at Cedar City. From here to Kanarraville the highway descends the east side of the Valley while Escalante went down the west side. From Kanarraville to Toquer-

ville the highway and the trail coincide, and at Hurricane they touch again. But from Hurricane south and east for more than a hundred miles the Escalante trail is entirely off the highway, and he who would follow it must be content with the dim track of a sheep wagon or make his own way over the uncharted sage brush plains. From Pipe Springs to Fredonia the highway again parallels the trail at close range, but at Fredonia the tourist gets his last look, where the trail is crossed by the highway from Zion Canyon to Kaibab Forest and the North Rim of Grand Canyon.

All this Arizona Strip is desert country. In a hundred miles from Hurricane to Fredonia there is not a permanent resident on or near Escalante's trail, except at Pipe Springs, where live a family or two. Beyond Fredonia there is scarcely a permanent dweller on the route for another hundred and fifty miles, when Oraibe is reached. But the Arizona Strip is good sheep country, and here and there in the arid plains one sees a temporary sheep camp and great flocks of well fed merinos. Reminiscent of the old days, at intervals one may still behold a majestic stallion, galloping at the head of his drove of graceful wild mares.

In Dixie and the Arizona Strip Escalante saw many things of interest besides scenery. The plan to reach Monterey having been given up, Indians and opportunities for missions were now his chief concern. Only a few spots in this desert land were promising. One of these was Cedar Valley (the Valley of San José). Escalante commented on its manifest advantages for a settlement — its abundant pasturage, its moist lands, and the supply of timber in the adjacent ridges. But he saw no signs of native agriculture and this was a serious drawback. The Indians here were the Huascaris. Because of their excessive timidity Escalante called them Yutas Cobardes or Coward Yutas.

To the missionary eye the Hurricane country was much more promising. The Indians here were the Parusis, a name by which they still call themselves. On Ash Creek and La Verkin Creek near the forks Escalante found

native agriculture. Maize and calabashes were raised, and Escalante saw several good irrigation ditches. He was told, moreover, that agriculture was practised by the Indians all down the Virgin River below this point. "By this we were greatly rejoiced," he writes, "because of the hope it gave us of being able to take advantage of certain supplies in the future."

Other Parussis were met at Fort Pierce Creek, under the shadow of the Hurricane cliffs. The most notable thing about this band was that they wore strings of small stones (chalchihuites), probably turquoises, that reminded the friars of rosaries. But they were better remembered for a very different reason. They led the Spaniards up a blind canyon — a trick, Escalante thought — and caused the loss of a day. The bad impression thus made by these Indians was enhanced by now threatening starvation and the illness of Miera the map maker.

Native settlements were far apart in this desert land. The next Indians encountered were the Yubuincariris, nearly fifty miles farther on, near Cooper's Pockets (San Samuel). These people raised no crops, but lived on grass seeds, pine nuts, prickly pears, small game, and some wild sheep, obtained evidently from Mount Trumbull. For another seventy-five miles to the northeast no natives were met till Paria River was crossed near Paria. Here lived the Pagampaches, Yutas like all the rest. In mode of living they were similar to the Yubuincariris. Miera the map maker being still under the weather, an old medicine man here tried his hand at curing him by "chants and ceremonies . . . totally superstitious." For the men this was a mirthful diversion, but the friars were duly scandalized, and they piously reprimanded the sinners. Father Domínguez was also ill at this place, but he did not call on the medicine man. Before going forward Escalante preached a sermon to the Indians here, and obtained their permission to return to establish missions for them. One of the purposes of his long peregrination was thus fulfilled.

TEN STRENUOUS DAYS

EXTRACT FROM ESCALANTE'S DIARY

The Valley of Señor San Josef,¹ which we have just left, in its most northern part is in latitude 37° 33'. Its length from north to south is about twelve leagues; its width from east to west in some places is more than three leagues, in others more than two, and in others less. It has very abundant pasturage, large meadows, and good-sized marshes.² It has enough excellent land to raise seasonal crops for a considerable settlement, for, although it does not have water for irrigation, except for some lands along the two small streams of Señor San Josef and Pilar,³ the great moisture of the land can supply this lack without the irrigation being missed. Indeed, such is the humidity of most of the valley that not only the meadows and flats, but also the highlands, at this time had pasturage as green and fresh as the most fertile meadows of the rivers in the months of June and July. Round about there is a large supply of spruce timber and wood, and good sites for raising large and small stock. The Indians who dwell in the valley and in its vicinity toward the west, north, and east, are called in their language Huascari.⁴ They dress very poorly and eat grass seeds, hares, and dates in season. They plant no maize and, according to our observations, they acquire very little of it. They are extremely cowardly,⁵

1. The Valley of Señor San José or San Josef was Cedar Valley. In it are situated Cedar City, Kanarraville, and New Harmony.

2. Escalante emphasizes the marches in Cedar Valley. Cultivation has changed conditions somewhat, but in many places marshes are still to be seen.

3. These streams were Iron Springs and Kanarra Creek.

4. The Huascari, like all the other bands in this vicinity, were branches of the Ute or Yuta stock. There are still numerous survivors of the tribe in the same general vicinity. They travel now in their own automobiles.

5. Escalante called Yutas Cobardes (Coward Utes) these and the other Indians encountered by him between Cedar Valley and the crossing of the Colorado. The Lagunas and Barbones (Bearded Yutas) to whom he here alludes lived farther north, along his trail.

differing from the Lagunas and the Barbones. They adjoin these latter toward the northwest and north and they speak their language, although with some differences. In this place of San Daniel⁹ ends the Sierra de Los Lagunas, which runs directly south from the valley of the Salinas to here. Henceforward to the Río Grande⁸ all the country is very barren, but gives indications of having much mineral.⁶

October 14.—We set out from San Daniel south by southwest along the west side of the river, withdrawing from it somewhat, and, having travelled two leagues over hills of very brilliant white sand, with many rocks in places, we crossed two copious brooks of good water which enter the river. We turned toward the south, now through stony but not very troublesome *malpais*, which is like slag, but not so heavy or so porous, now amongst sand rocks, now over sand banks. Having travelled two more leagues we descended for a third time to the river and halted on its bank, where there was very good pasturage, naming the place San Hugolino.¹⁰ Here the country is very warm, for not only did we experience great heat yesterday, last night and today, but the cottonwoods of the river were so green

6. San Daniel was on Ash Creek, some four miles below Ash Creek bridge on the highway, and about two miles above Pintura.

7. The Valley of Utah Lake. Escalante visited this lake and spent several days near the site of the city of Provo.

8. By Río Grande he means the Colorado River.

9. The last sentence of this paragraph, and probably the last two, must have been inserted reminiscently after Escalante had reached the Colorado. He is not strictly correct in saying that the Sierra de los Lagunas (the main ridge of the Wasatch) ends at San Daniel. More precisely, it ends a little farther south, at his next camp, San Hugolino (near Toquerville.)

10. San Hugolino was abouted at the site of Toquerville. By automobile the distance from San Daniel to San Hugolino is some ten miles. Escalante gives it as four leagues. The country is rough here and he no doubt wound about somewhat. Camp was on the west side of Ash Creek, probably near Toquerville bridge. The day's march was close to the present highway, where all the features noted by Escalante can be recognized — the sandy hills, the creeks, the slag-like rocks. Escalante had dropped down from the high table lands and was now in the warm region today called Dixie. He was near to superb scenery of which he was not aware. A few miles to the east of the camp-site is Zion Canyon, one of the beauty spots of the West. The present day highway to Zion Canyon turns east near Toquerville.

and leafy, and the flowers and roses which the country produces were so brilliant and perfect, that they indicated that there had not yet been any ice or frost in this region. We also saw mesquite trees, which do not grow in very cold countries. Today four leagues to the south.

October 15.—We set out from San Hugolino, down the west side of the river and along the skirts of some adjacent hills, and having gone two and a half leagues to the south-southwest we returned to the banks and the cottonwood grove of the river.¹¹ Here we found a well-made platform with a large supply of ears of corn and corn husks which had been stored upon it. Near it, in the small flat and on the river bank, were three small cornfields with very well made irrigation ditches. The stalks of the maize which they had raised this year were still intact. By this we were greatly rejoiced, now because of the hope it gave us of being able to take advantage of certain supplies in the future; and especially because it was an indication of the application of these people to the cultivation of the soil; and because we found this much done toward reducing them to civilized life and to the Faith when the Most High may so dispose, for it is well known how much it costs to bring other Indians to this point, and how difficult it is to convert¹² them to this labor which is so necessary to enable them to live for the most part in civilized life and in towns.¹³ From here down the stream, and on the mesas on both sides for a long distance, according to what we learned,

11. Escalante continued along the west side of Ash Creek and on the adjacent slopes. The cottonwood grove where he found maize fields was a short distance above the forks of Ash Creek and La Verkin Creek. There are cottonwood groves and alluvial bottom lands at this point on both streams. La Verkin Creek joins Ash Creek just a short distance above the junction of the latter with Virgin River. "La Verkin" is of course but the Spanish rendering of "the Virgin." This means that one fork of Virgin River bears the English form and another fork the Spanish form of the same name.

12. The Seville transcript reads "su conversión." The 1854 edition reads "su conversión su aversión," the second phrase appearing to be intended as a correction of the former. But the construction fits "su conversión."

13. Escalante here gives a clear statement of the Spanish view that missionary work could not be successful unless the Indians lived a settled life and had ample economic means. This explains why in California and other regions roving tribes were put into fixed settlements and made to stay there.

these Indians live and apply themselves to the cultivation of maize and calabashes. In their own language they are called Parrusi.¹⁴

We continued down stream toward the south, and having gone half a league we inclined toward the southwest, leaving the river, but a deep gorge without descent obliged us to turn back more than a quarter of a league, until we again reached the river. Here it runs toward the southwest, and here two other small rivers join it, one coming from the north-northeast and the other from the east. The latter, for the greater part, is composed of hot and sulphurous water, and we therefore named it Sulphur River.¹⁵ Here there is a beautiful grove of large black cotton-woods and some willows, besides vines of wild grapes: In the distance which we retraced there are ash cones,¹⁶ veins and other indications of minerals, and many stones with reddish mica.

We crossed the Pilar River and the Sulphur near the place where they join, and going south we ascended a low mesa between cliffs of black and shiny rock.¹⁷ Having reached the top we entered good open country and crossed a small plain which has toward the east a chain of very

14. Along the Virgin for some distance and on Santa Clara Creek, in the vicinity of St. George, there are good bottom lands, where there were Indian settlements when the Mormon immigrants arrived. These river Indians still call themselves Parusis, as one of them told me in June, 1927. This may be just a form of the name Paiutes, but my informant insisted that Parusis was a special name for the Virgin River people. The Paiutes are still numerous in this vicinity in southern Utah, living on different reservations. On June 23, we met numerous automobile loads of them driving eastward to attend the "Big Time" (ceremonials) at Moccasin Reservation.

15. Rio Sulfúreo. In this march they passed the forks, reached Virgin River at the deep gorge, and returned a quarter of a league to the forks of Ash Creek and the Virgin. A mile or so above the junction, near the town of La Verkin, are the famous hot springs which boil out of the rocks with great volume and strong odor, giving a sulphurous taste to the river for a long distance down stream.

16. Just across the river from the place where Escalante turned back and just north of Hurricane, there is a large volcanic ash cone, and near the same spot a mine has been opened.

17. The very trail up which they climbed, right at the junction, is easily identified from his description. They proceeded south over the ground now occupied by the city of Hurricane.

high mesas,¹⁸ and to the west hills of red sand¹⁹ covered with chamise, or what is called heather in Spain. We might have continued in the plain along the edge of the mesa and finished our journey over good level country, but those who went ahead turned aside to follow some fresh tracks of Indians, leading us over the sand hills and flats already mentioned, in which the horses became tired out. Having previously gone south two leagues along the mesa and the plain,²⁰ we travelled over these hills three leagues to the southwest. We now turned south for a little more than two leagues, when we beheld a small valley surrounded by mesas, on one of which we were perched, not being able to go down to the valley. On the mesa there was neither water nor pasture for the horses and they were now unable to travel, so we were forced to descend along a high and very stony escarpment.²¹ Having gone three-fourths of a league to the south we halted, the sun having already set, at an arroyo where we found large pools of good water, with pasturage sufficient for the horses. We named the place San Dónulo or Arroyo del Taray, because here there were some of these tamarack trees. We made an observation by the polar star and found ourselves in 36° 52' 30" latitude.

18. The "chain of very high mesas" is the famous Hurricane Ridge which begins just north of here and extends south to Colorado River. During most of this distance it presents a steep western front, several hundred feet high and most difficult of ascent. Escalante travelled near the foot of it now for nearly fifty miles.

19. These bright red hills are a conspicuous feature of the landscape off to the southwest of Hurricane.

20. Through the site of Hurricane to a point six miles south of the forks of the Virgin.

21. They slid down the south end of the red ridge on which they had been travelling, and continued a short distance south to Fort Pierce Creek. In the neighborhood is Fort Spring, but from Escalante's description there seems to have been rain water in several places. Escalante correctly tells us that if he had not been led off to the southwest by the scouts he might have travelled from the river-crossing straight south along the foot of Hurricane Ridge. This is the route which we followed in 1926. By our speedometer it was nearly twenty miles from Hurricane to the Arizona line, although by airline it is considerably less. Camp San Dónulo was on Fort Pierce Creek, not far from the Arizona boundary line. I am told that tamaracks are still found in places along the wash, but I did not see any.

Today ten leagues, which by a direct route would be seven leagues to the south-southwest.²²

In this plain or little valley, besides the tamarack, there is a great deal of hediondilla,²³ which is a shrub with great medicinal virtues, as has been found in New Mexico. Tonight our provisions were completely exhausted, except for two small cakes of chocolate left for tomorrow morning.

October 16.—We set out from San Dónulo with the intention of continuing south as far as the Colorado River,²⁴ but after we had gone a short distance we heard people shouting behind us. Turning to see where the echo came from we saw eight²⁵ Indians on the hills near the camp whence we had just set out. These hills are in the middle of the plain and stretch almost completely across it, and they abound in transparent gypsum and mica. We went back to them, giving orders that the interpreter who was ahead should come also. Reaching the foot of the hills, we gave them to understand that they might come down without fear, since we all came in peace and were friends. Thereupon they took courage and descended to barter some strings or strands of chalchihuites,²⁶ each one having a colored shell. This gave us something to think about, for from below the strings of chalchihuites looked to us like rosaries and the shells like medallions of saints. We remained with them here a short time, but they spoke the Yuta tongue so differently from all the rest that neither the interpreter nor the Laguna Joaquín could make them understand clearly, nor could they understand much of what the Indians were saying. However, now by signs and now because in some cases they spoke Yuta more like the Lagunas, they made us understand that they were all called

22. By airline the distance is about as Escalante estimated it; the direction would be south by southwest, rather than southwest.

23. It is a shrub of some beauty, bearing a yellow flower.

24. By airline they were only about forty miles from the Colorado River, and could have reached it in two days of rapid marching. But, as the Indians said, by going to the river at its nearest point they would have encountered the Grand Canyon.

25. The Seville text reads "dichos," where the 1854 edition reads "ocho."

26. "Emerald colored stones." They might have been turquoises.

Parussis (except one who spoke more in Arabic than in Yuta, and whom we judged to be a Jamajaba²⁷) and that they were the ones who planted crops on the banks of Pilar River,²⁸ and lived down stream a long distance. We took them to be Cosninas, but afterward we learned that such was not the case.

They offered these chalchihuites for barter. We told them that we had nothing whatever with us, but that if they wished to go with us till we overtook the rest of our companions we would then give them what they wanted and would talk with them at length. They all came very gladly, but those who appeared to be the most cautious came with great fear and misgivings.

We stopped and talked more than two and a half or three hours. They told us that in two days we would reach the Rio Grande,²⁹ but that we could not go where we wished because there were no waterholes, nor could we cross the river there because it had a deep canyon, was very deep and had on both side extremely high cliffs and boulders, and finally that from here to the river the country was very bad. We gave them two large knives and presented to each one a string of glass beads. Then we proposed to them that if anyone of them wished to guide us to the river we would pay him. They replied that they would show us the way to the plain through a canyon leading into the eastern mesa, and that from there we would be able to go alone, explaining that they were barefoot and not able to travel very far.

Notwithstanding this account, we did not wish to depart from our southern course until we reached the river, for we suspected that the Moquis might have become offended with the Cosninas for having brought Father Garcés to them³⁰ and, fearful that they might bring to them

27. Mojave.

28. He means Virgin River below the Sulphur Fork.

29. The Colorado River.

30. Just before Escalante started from Santa Fé, Garcés had reached Oraibe, going from the Mojave country.

other fathers or Spaniards, they had tried to restrain them by threats; and that these Indians having heard the news were now trying to turn us aside in order that we might not reach the Cosninas or the Jamajabas, their neighbors. But because of the insistence of the companions, to whom it was not desirable now to make known our suspicions, we consented to go by way of the canyon. In order that these Indians might guide us we offered them soles made from leather bags, for sandals, and they said that two of them would go with us until they should put us on a direct and good road.

With them we entered the canyon³¹ mentioned and travelled along it for a league and a half with much difficulty and hindrance for the animals, because of the great amount of cobblestones and flint and of the frequent difficult and dangerous passages. We came to one narrow place so bad that in more than a half hour we were able to make only three saddle-horses enter it. Then followed a rocky cliff so steep that even to ascend it on foot would be very difficult. Seeing that we were unable to follow them the Indians fled, impelled no doubt by their excessive cowardice. Hereupon it was necessary for us to turn back and travel south once more. Before doing so we halted for a time³² in order that the animals might take a breath³³ and drink some water which was there, but it was so bad that many of the animals would not drink it. In the afternoon we retraced the full length of the canyon, and having travelled half a league south³⁴ in the plain, we halted near the southern pass from the valley, without water for either ourselves or the animals. This night we suffered great

31. The canyon which they entered leads into the sheer face of Hurricane Ridge, almost on the state line. It is locally called Rock Canyon or Horse Canyon. Sometimes ranchmen run horses into it as a corral for branding, because it is "blind" at the head, making escape difficult or impossible. From the plain where Camp San Dónulo was made, the mouth of the canyon is plainly visible to the east, and there is no mistaking its identity.

32. This stop was in the canyon, before returning to the plain.

33. "Aliento" in the Seville transcript; "alimento" in the 1854 edition.

34. During this march of half a league south they crossed the Arizona line and halted at the north end of Black Rock Canyon.

need, having no kind of food, and so we decided to kill a horse, in order not to lose our own lives, but because there was no water we deferred the execution until we should have some. Today, after so difficult a journey, we advanced only a league and a half toward the south. One and one-half leagues.

October 17.—Continuing our march toward the south we threaded the pass³⁵ from the little valley, along the bed of an arroyo in which we found a pool of good water, and all the animals drank. We continued south two leagues and then, inclining to the southeast two more, we found in another arroyo a plentiful supply of good water, not only in one place but in many, and although it is rain water which remains after the floods it apparently does not dry up throughout the year. Here we found some of the plants which they call "quelites." We thought that by means of them we might relieve our great necessity, but we were able to gather only a very few and these very small. We continued southeast and having gone four leagues and a half through good and level land, although somewhat spongy, we halted,³⁶ partly to see if in the slopes of the mesa there was water, and partly in order, by means of the mentioned herbs, with seasoning, to provide some aliment for Don Bernardo Miera, who, because since yesterday morning he had not eaten a single thing, was now so weak that he was scarcely able to speak. We ordered the hampers and other baggage in which we had brought the provisions ransacked in order

35. They marched through Black Rock Canyon for some two or three miles, and emerged into Lower Hurricane Valley.

36. This day's march of eight and one-half leagues was made along the foot of Hurricane Ridge. In some places they must have been well out in the valley, a mile or more, for here is where the wash, or arroyo, is found. The halt was made at the dry arroyo which runs down west from the mesa just north of Old Temple Road. This road is so-called from an interesting circumstance. In the 70's the Mormons obtained timber for building the St. George Temple from Mt. Trumbull, to the southeast. In order to get it down Hurricane Ridge, a wagon road was opened up a natural ridge or ramp which is at that place. Old Temple Road is no longer used, but the marks of it are still plain, by the parallel ridges of stones that were removed to open the road bed.

to see if there might be some left-overs, but we could only find some pieces of calabash which the servants had acquired yesterday from the Parussis Indians and which they had hidden in order not to be obliged to invite the rest to share them.

With this and a piece of sugar loaf which we also found we made a sauce for everybody and took a little nourishment. We did not find water to enable us to pass the night here, so we decided to continue the journey to the south. The companions, without telling us, went to reconnoiter the mesa to the east and the country from here forward.³⁷ Those who went on this exploration returned saying that the ascent of the mesa was very good, and that afterward there followed level country, with many arroyos in which there could not fail to be water. To them the river seemed to be at the end of the plain which was beyond the mesa.

In view of all this all were inclined to a change of direction. We well knew how, on other occasions, they had been mistaken, and that in so short a time they could not have seen so much, and we held a contrary opinion, because toward the south we had much good level land in sight, and because we had found today so much water, contrary to the story told by the Indians, and had travelled all day through good country. For these reasons our suspicions were increased, but since we were now without food and because water might be distant, in order not to make more intolerable to them the hunger and thirst which, for our own good, might be our lot by either route, merely to have our way, we told them they might go in the direction which to them seemed best.

37. One can easily understand the temptation to climb the mesa at this point. It is the first inviting, natural ascent visible from the valley as one travels south from the Utah line. Moreover, just to the south Hurricane Ridge swings sharply to the west and threatens to cut off passage southward. To the southwest the travellers saw Diamond Butte, Solitaire Butte, and Mt. Dellenbaugh, rising above what appeared to be rough country, and the Indians had told of Grand Canyon straight ahead. No wonder the scouts desired to reconnoiter the plateau to the east of them.

So they led us southeast to the mesa, ascending it by a rocky run or arroyo with much stone in which there is very good gypsum such as is used for whitewashing.³⁸ We finished the ascent of the mesa by a very steep slope having much black rock. Night came and we halted on the mesa in a small plain with good pasturage, but without water. We named this place San Angel. Today nine leagues.

We were very sorry to have changed our course because, according to our latitude, by continuing to the south we could have reached the river very quickly.³⁹ As soon as we halted those who had previously been on the mesa said that a short distance from here they thought they had seen water.⁴⁰ Two of them went to bring some for the men, but they did not return during the whole night, and next day dawned without our learning anything of them, although we concluded that they had continued seeking Indian ranchos in which to relieve their need as soon as possible. For this reason and because there was no water here we decided to proceed on our way without awaiting them.

38. The route up the ridge is easily identified and unmistakeable. They had halted near the arroyo just north of Old Temple Road. This arroyo, which extends only a short distance into the plain, has plentiful lime rocks, as Escalante says. Instead of ascending the lateral ridge or ramp up which Temple Road winds, they followed the arroyo bed. Near the head they swung to the south up one of the branches, and made a stiff climb of three or four hundred feet over sharp, black rocks, to the first landing on the mesa. If they had followed the ramp, the march over these sharp rocks would have been much longer, and their horses' feet were no doubt sore. At the first landing their route joined Temple Road. They continued up the slope, now easier, to the second landing, where they camped in a small grass covered valley at San Angel. The very top of the great plateau was still above them, but accessible by a gradual ascent. On the night of June 20, 1927, with my party I camped in the plain below, at the dry arroyo where Escalante had halted. Next morning, in light order of marching, I followed Escalante's trail up the ridge on foot, while Mr. Reid and Mr. Atkin retraced our route north some ten miles by automobile, ascended the Ridge by Navajo Trail, and rejoined me on the plateau above, after a circuit of some twenty-five miles.

39. By airline they were only about twenty miles from the Colorado River.

40. Evidently the scouts had been to the very top of the mesa and obtained a general view of the country. Toward the southeast it presented a rugged appearance, and gave promise of water.

October 18.—We set out from San Angel to the south-southeast and having travelled half a league we turned east-southeast⁴¹ for two leagues, over hills and wide valleys, with good pasturage but very rocky. Not finding water we swung to the east-northeast for two more leagues, ascending and descending stony hills that were hard on the horses.⁴² Five Indians were spying on us from a small but high mesa.⁴³ As we two fathers, who were travelling behind the companions, passed by the foot of it they hailed us. When we turned toward them four of them hid, only one remaining in sight, and we saw that he was greatly frightened. We could not persuade him to come down, so we two alone climbed up on foot with great difficulty. At each step which we took toward him he wished to flee, but we gave him to understand that he should not be afraid, because we loved him like a son and wished to talk with him. With this he waited for us, making a thousand gestures, showing that he was much afraid of us. As

41. One text reads east-southeast, and the other reads southeast, each being clearly a mistake for south-southeast. The natural trail from Camp San Angel leads by an easy grade south-southeast for a mile or more, and then swings south-east to the very top of the mesa. To go east from San Angel one would immediately have another stiff climb, which is easily avoided by following the valley. Along this little valley ran the old Mormon Road.

42. In four lines Escalante here summarizes twelve miles of interesting and difficult travel. The writing was vastly casier than the journey. Two leagues east-southeast took him over rolling country, very rocky in places, and across Lang's Run. Here evidently they were disappointed to find no water, which the run had promised. They now swung east-northeast over the saddle between two of the seven conspicuous, symmetrical hills that lay in front of them. (We swung southeast around these hills and rejoined Escalante's trail near the forks of Mt. Trumbull Road.) Passing near the south end of Black Canyon they continued east over cedar covered ridges to the little mesa where the Indians were spying on them. Black Canyon runs north through a deep gorge, having high, steep, black walled mesas on either side. On the top of the eastern mesa there is a large, truncated ash cone, north of Escalante's trail.

43. The "small but high mesa" where the Indians were spying and where the romantic conference occurred is small indeed, perhaps not more than a hundred yards long. From a distance it looks like a good-sized hayrick. It stands in the plain, near a cedar ridge, and a mile or two south of the truncated ash cone mentioned above. There is no mistaking it, for it answers exactly to the data given by Escalante of the route from Camp San Angel to this point, and of the route from the little mesa to the next waterhole. It is just where Escalante puts it by both distance and direction. My companions honored me by jocosely dubbing it Bolton Mesa, or as an alternative, Mesa de la Shalona.

soon as we got up to where he was we embraced him and, sitting down beside him, we had the Indian interpreter and the Laguna come up. Having now recovered from his fright he told us that four others were hidden there, and that if we wished he would call them so that we might see them. When we answered in the affirmative he laid his bow and arrows on the ground, took the interpreter by the hand, and went with him to bring them.

They came and we spent about an hour in talking. They told us that we now had water nearby. We begged them to guide us to it, promising them a piece of shalloon,⁴⁴ and after much urging three of them agreed to go with us. Greatly fatigued from thirst and hunger, we continued with them a league to the southeast, and then going another to the south over a bad and very stony road, we came to a small cedar covered ridge and an arroyo which had two large pools of good water in the holes in the rocks.⁴⁵ We took enough for ourselves and then brought the horses and as they were so thirsty they drank both pools dry. Here we decided to pass the night, naming the place San Samuel. Today six leagues.

As they came along with us the three Indians mentioned were so fearful that they did not wish to go ahead nor let us get near them until they had talked with the Laguna Joaquín,⁴⁶ but with what he told them about us they quieted down. Among other things they asked him, marvelling at

44. A kind of cloth.

45. By following the directions given here we found the route just as Escalante describes it, rocks and all. Without any previous knowledge of such a water hole, our directions took us to Cooper's Pockets, in a draw on the slope of a cedar covered ridge. These pockets are unmistakably the place where Escalante's party got their water. On the edge of the plain, near the foot of the cedar covered ridge is Cooper's old sheep corral. To the west of the cedar covered ridge is Hat Cone, a steep volcanic ash cone, crowned with a very sharp peak, like a monument, and visible at a long distance. The camp of San Samuel was doubtless on the edge of the grass covered plain, below the water pockets, which are in a stony arroyo in a rough draw. Here, near the old corral, was enacted the interesting trading scene on the 19th. A mile or more to the eastward of Cooper's Pocket is Franklin Heaton's Reservoir, named for Mr. Franklin Heaton, of Pipe Springs, who gave us valuable information when we reached his residence.

46. A guide brought from Utah Lake.

his bravery, how he had dared to come with us. Desiring to quiet their fears, and in order to relieve the need which to our great sorrow he was suffering, he answered them as best he could. In this way he greatly dispelled the fear and suspicion which they had felt, and it was for this reason doubtless that they did not desert us before we reached the waterhole.

As soon as we halted we gave them the promised shalloon, with which they were greatly delighted. Knowing that we were without provisions, they said that we must send one of our men with one of them to go to their little houses, which were somewhat distant, and bring provisions, the others remaining with us meanwhile. We sent one of the Janissaries⁴⁷ with the Laguna Joaquín, giving him the wherewithal to buy food, and a pack mule on which to carry it. They departed with the other Indian, and after midnight returned bringing a small piece of wild sheep, dried tuna made into cakes, and some grass seeds. They also brought news of one of the two men who the previous night had gone for water, saying that he had been at this rancho. The other had reached camp this night about ten o'clock.

October 19.—Twenty of these Indians came to camp with some tunas made into a round cake or loaf, and several bags of seeds of different plants, to sell to us.⁴⁸ We paid them for what they brought and told them that if they had meat, pine nuts, and more tunas they should bring them and we would buy them all, especially the meat. They said they would, but that we would have to wait for them until

47. *Genizaros*, captive Indians ransomed by the Spaniards and raised by them from childhood. See Bolton, H. E., *The Spanish Borderlands*, p. 184, for a comment on this custom in New Mexico.

48. The Indians of this region Escalante called Yubuincariris. The supplies perhaps came from dwellers farther south, in the vicinity of Mt. Trumbull, where piñon trees and mountain sheep are found. Miera's map shows a village in this direction from San Samuel.

noon.⁴⁹ We accepted the conditions and they departed. One of them promised to accompany us as far as the river if we would wait until afternoon and we agreed to this also.

After midday many more of the same people who formerly had been with us came, among them being one who, they said, was a Mescalero Apache, and who had come with two others from his country to this, crossing the river a few days before. In physiognomy he was by no means agreeable, and he distinguished himself from these Indians by the disgust with which he looked upon us for being here, and by the greater animosity which he purposely displayed, as it seemed to us. They told us that these Apaches were their friends. They brought us no meat at all, but they did bring many bags of seeds and some fresh tunas already sun-dried, some of them being in the form of dry round cakes. We bought about a bushel of the seeds and all the tuna. We talked for a long time concerning the distance to the river, the road to it, the number of these Indians and their mode of living, the neighboring peoples, and the guide whom we were seeking.

They showed us the road we had to take to the river,⁵⁰ giving some confused directions about the ford and saying that we could reach it in two or three days. They told us that they were called Yubuincariri; that they did not plant maize; that their foods were those seeds, tuna, pine nuts, which are scarce judging from the few they gave us, and such hares, rabbits, and wild sheep as they could get by hunting. They added that on this side of the river only the Parussis planted maize and calabashes, but that on the other side, as soon as the river was passed, there were the Ancamuches (whom we understood to be the Cosninas), who planted much maize. Besides these they told us of

49. The Seville transcript reads "media noche," but the context bears out the 1854 text, which reads "media dia."

50. They evidently advised Escalante to turn sharply northeast, and told him of the gap through Buckskin Mountains in the vicinity of Paria.

other people, their neighbors to the south-southwest, on this western side of the river;⁵¹ these were the Payatammumis. They also told us of the Huascaris, whom we had already seen in the Valley of Señor San Josef. As to the soldiers of Monterey, they gave us not the slightest indication that they had ever heard of them, but one of those who had spent the previous night with us gave us to understand that he had heard of the journey of the Reverend Father Garcés.⁵² This, taken together with the fact that all of these people denied knowing the Cosninas (unless they knew them by the above-mentioned name of Ancamucho), would seem to justify the suspicions which we have just expressed. The conference having ended, they began to leave, and we were unable to induce any one of them to make up his mind to guide us to the river.

Today Don Bernardo Miera was very sick in his stomach and we were unable to leave here this afternoon. A short distance away we found other pools of water for the night.

October 20.—We set out from San Samuel toward the north-northeast, directing our course to the ford of the Colorado River, and avoiding a low, wooded, and very stony range which comes first.⁵³ After going a little more than two leagues we swung to the north, entering level country without stones. Having travelled four leagues we found in an arroyo several pools⁵⁴ of good water, and then going a league east-northeast, we halted on its bank between two small hills which are in the plain near the arroyo,⁵⁵ where there was a plentiful supply of water and good pasturage. We named this place Santa Gertrudis.⁵⁶

51. Of Colorado River.

52. To Oraibe.

53. This is Little Hurricane Ridge, a low but sharply marked mesa which runs nearly north and south. Travelling from Heaton's Reservoir, the words "wooded, rocky" exactly describe it, for it is wooded for two or three miles, then bare and distinctly rocky for a distance.

54. Wild Band Pockets.

55. Toward the end of the four leagues Escalante's route must have swung northeastward round the end of Little Hurricane Ridge, otherwise he would not have reached Camp Santa Gertrudis. The Arroyo of Santa Gertrudis was a branch

We observed its latitude by the polar star and it is in 36 degrees and 30 minutes. Today seven leagues.

October 21.—We set forth from Santa Gertrudis toward the east. After going half a league⁵⁷ we swung to the northeast, having several times crossed the Arroyo of Santa Gertrudis, which in most places had large pools of water. Having travelled five and a half leagues to the northeast over country not very good, and making several turns, we passed through chamisethickets⁵⁸ not very difficult and over good country; and then going a little more than four leagues to the east-northeast⁵⁹ we halted after night-fall near a small valley with good pasturage but without water even for the men. Lorenzo de Olivares, impelled by thirst caused by eating too many of the seeds, pine nuts, and tunas which we had bought, separated from us as soon

of Bullrush Wash, or Creek. Wild Band Pockets, where they found water, had copious water when we were there in June, 1927. They are so-named from the bands of wild horses which still frequent them and live on the adjacent plains. In the stretch from Heaton's Reservoir to Pipe Springs we saw several wild bands, feeding in the distance or galloping majestically away at sight or scent of us. On the night of June 21 we camped in the plain a short distance from Wild Band Pockets.

56. Camp was made just where the Wash breaks through the point of a mesa to the east. The "two small hills" were the two corners of the mesa overlooking the arroyo from either side. At this very point the remains of Old Canaan Dam, built long ago by the Mormons, are still to be seen. Camp Santa Gertrudis must have been about where the dam is. It is about twelve miles almost due south (a little west) from Pipe Springs. The distance from Cooper's Pockets to Old Canaan Dam by the route Escalante took is about twenty-one miles.

57. This half league of travel toward the east was through the canyon made by the cutting of the arroyo through the mesa point. The canyon is narrow, rocky, and crooked, and one would naturally cross the arroyo bed frequently. Having emerged from the canyon, Escalante turned sharply northeast. To have continued east would have taken him to the deep gorge of Kanab Gulch, whose steep cliffs are plainly visible to the east of the mesa at Canaan Dam.

58. At the willow thickets Escalante crossed Kanab Creek near Fredonia. Kanab means willow in the Paiute tongue, I am told. Evidently, when Escalante crossed the creek it was dry and there was no considerable gorge. Old settlers of Fredonia tell me that when the Mormons arrived there were heavy willow thickets there and no gorge. Today there is a deep, wide wash, made by erosion within recent years. The crossing was evidently two or three miles south of Fredonia, near Dobson's Ranch. Nail's crossing is too far south to answer the description.

59. These twelve or thirteen miles took Escalante up Johnson's Valley. Camp Santa Bárbara was above Chatterly's ranch some two miles, near the edge of Buckskin Gulch, and near the cedar grove at the angle of the range of Vermillion Cliffs that bordered Escalante's march from Kanab Creek.

as we halted, seeking water in the neighboring arroyos." He did not reappear during the entire night, which caused us great anxiety. We named this camp Santa Bárbara. Today ten leagues.

October 22.—We set out from Santa Bárbara to the north-northeast,⁶¹ looking for Olivares. About two leagues away we found him near a well with a scant supply of water, for it had only enough for the men to drink and to fill a little barrel which we carried lest we might not find any water for tonight. We continued along the plain four leagues to the northeast,⁶² when we saw a trail leading to the south. The interpreter told us that the Yubincariris had told him that we must take this trail to go to the river, and so we took it;⁶³ but after travelling along it a league to the south, we found that the interpreter had made a mistake in the signs, for a short distance from here the trail turned back. And so, going eastward, we climbed the low range which runs nearly north and south

60. Two forks of a dry arroyo unite in Johnson's Valley.

61. Escalante now turned up Buckskin Gulch, along a branch of Johnson's Run, a dry wash. On his left were beautiful, high, red cliffs; far ahead a symmetrical one, which we dubbed "The Hat." A few miles to the east, across Buckskin Gulch (really not a gulch but a pleasant valley), ran the low range now called Buckskin Mountains, parallel with Escalante's trail. On the south this range merges into the famous forest-clad Kaibab Plateau. The place where Olivares obtained water was evidently Navajo Well. It is about six miles north-northeast of the Camp of Santa Bárbara, and off the road half a mile to the west, between high red mesas. Olivares evidently had returned to the trail to meet the wayfarers.

62. Escalante now continued up Buckskin Gulch, evidently keeping to the western side. For a few miles his view of the main valley was cut off by a small cedar grown ridge. At the end of the four leagues beyond Navajo Well he had nearly reached the head of Buckskin Mountains. If he had kept along the trail to the northeast he would have had a nearly level route to the Paria River.

63. His sharp southward turn of a league took him across Telegraph Flat, a level, open area near the head of the valley. Here Buckskin Mountains have the appearance of a low cedar covered ridge, innocent looking enough. So Escalante plunged into them, but before reaching Paria River he paid a heavy price, for as he proceeded he found the country exceedingly rough, and in places almost impassable. Camp San Juan Capistrano was on Paria River, near old Adairville, an abandoned town.

Our journey in 1927 ended at Jepson's Ranch in Buckskin Mountains. At this point I hope to take up the trail again and follow it across the Colorado River and to Oraibe, from which point I have followed it eastward.

on the east side of this plain all the way, and which we had intended to avoid. We crossed it with great difficulty and fatigue to the horses, for besides being much broken it is very stony. Night overtook us as we descended to the other side from a very high, rough, hogback with many boulders. From it we saw several fires below us and beyond a small plain. We thought the interpreter Andrés and the Laguna Joaquín, who had gone ahead hunting water for tonight, had made the fires in order that we might know where they were. But having completed the descent, and having travelled, since we left the trail mentioned, four leagues to the east-northeast, making some turns in the valleys of the range, we reached the fires, where there were three small ranchos of Indians, and with them our interpreter and Joaquín. We decided to pass the night here because at short distances to the east and west we had water and pasturage for the animals who were now almost completely worn out. We named the camp San Juan Capistrano. Today twelve leagues.

Since it was night when we reached these ranchos, and the Indians were unable to see how many people were coming, they were frightened, and in spite of the persuasions of the interpreter and the Laguna Joaquín, when we arrived most of them fled, only three men and two women remaining. Very much grieved, they said to our Laguna, "Little Brother, you are of the same race as ourselves. Do not let these people you are with kill us." We embraced them and tried by every possible means we could think of to dispel their suspicions and fear. They became somewhat reassured, and wishing to please us they gave us two roasted hares and some pine nuts. Moreover, two of them went, although very fearfully, to show the watering place to the servants, in order that the animals might drink. This place is to the east of the north point of the small range mentioned, near a number of hills of red earth. To the south of these hills, very close by, on some rocky knolls having some piñon and cedar trees, are two good tanks

of rainwater. Beyond them⁶⁴ in a little arroyo there are also some pools of water, but it is small in amount and not so good. To the west-southwest of the same hills, at the foot of the range, there is also a small spring of permanent water. These Indians call themselves in their language Paganpache, and their near neighbors to the north and north-northwest they call Ytimpabichi.

After we had retired to rest some of the companions, among them being Don Bernardo Miera, went to one of the huts to talk with the Indians. They told them that Don Bernardo was ill, and an old Indian among those present, either because our men requested it or because he wished to do so, set about curing him with chants and ceremonies, which if not openly idolatrous must have been totally superstitious. All of our men, including the patient, permitted them willingly, and they applauded them as harmless pleasantries, when they ought to have prevented them as contrary to the evangelical and divine law which they profess, or at least they ought to have withdrawn. Although we heard the chants of the Indians, we did not know to what they were directed. But in the morning, as soon as they told us the seriousness of the occasion, we were deeply grieved at such harmful carelessness, and we reprimanded them, instructing them never again, by their voluntary presence or in any other way, to countenance such errors.

This is one of the principal reasons why the heathen who deal most with the Spaniards and Christians of these parts most stubbornly resist the evangelical truth, their conversion becoming daily more difficult. When we were preaching the necessity of holy baptism to the first Sabuaganas whom we saw,⁶⁵ the interpreter, in order not to offend them, or in order not to lose the ancient friendship which they maintain for the sake of vile trade in skins (for they often visit them, even in violation of the just edicts of the goveronrs of this realm, by which repeatedly it has

64. *Mas hacia.*

65. This was at the east end of Grand Mesa, in Colorado.

been ordered that no Indian, Janissary or citizen, shall enter the lands of the heathen without first obtaining a license for it from his Lordship), translated to them these exact words: "The fathers say that if the Apaches, Navajos and Comanches are not baptized they can not go to Heaven, but will go to hell, where God punishes them, and they will burn like wood in the fire." The Sabuaganas were greatly delighted to hear themselves excluded and their enemies included in the indispensable necessity of being baptized lest they be lost and suffer eternally. The interpreter was reprimanded, and seeing that his stupid falsification was found out he reformed.

We might add to these other instances, learned from their own lips, when among the Yutas they have attended and perhaps approved and even taken part in many idolatrous ceremonies. But let these two which we know on evidence suffice. For if, after having heard these idolatries and superstitions refuted and condemned many times, they still attend them, give occasion for them, and approve them, what will they not do when travelling for three or four months among the heathen Yutas and Navajos, there being no one present to correct or restrain them? Aside from this, some of them have given us sufficient reason during this journey to suspect that if some go to the Yutas and remain so long a time among them out of greed for skins, others go and remain there for carnal purposes which they can indulge there to their brutal satisfaction. And thus in all sorts of ways they blaspheme the name of Christ and impede or, more exactly said, oppose, the spread of the Faith. Oh, with what severity such evils should be met! May God in His infinite goodness inspire the best and most effective means!

October 23.—We did not march today, in order to give time for the people here to quiet down and to permit those of the vicinity to assemble. The grass seeds and other things which we had purchased and eaten did us

notable injury and weakened instead of strengthening us.⁶⁶ We were unable to get these people to sell us any ordinary meat, and so they ordered a horse killed and the flesh cured so that we might carry it. Today Father Fray Francisco Atanacio was ill with a severe pain . . . such that he was not able even to move.

All day the Indians from the nearby ranchos kept coming, and we embraced them all and gave them such presents as we could. These people now gave clearer notices of the Cosninas and Moquinos, speaking of them by these very names. They also told us the way we must go to the river, which is twelve leagues from here at most, giving us directions for the ford. We purchased from them about a bushel of pine nuts and we made them a present of more than a half bushel of grass seeds.

Very early next day twenty-six Indians assembled, among them being some of those who were with us the previous afternoon, and others whom we have never seen before. We told them of the Holy Evangel, reprehending and explaining the evil and the uselessness of their superstitions, especially the supersitious cure of the sick. We admonished them that they ought to go only to the true and one God in their troubles, because only His Majesty has at His disposal health and sickness, life and death, and is able to help us all. And although our interpreter could not explain this to them clearly, one of them, who doubtless had dealt with the Yutas Payuchis, understood him well and explained to the rest what he heard. When he saw that they listened gladly we proposed to them that if they wished to be Christianized, fathers and Spaniards would come to instruct them and live with them. They replied that they desired this. And when we asked where we should find them when we came, they replied that they would be in this small range and on the nearby mesas. Then, to attach them to us, we distributed thirteen yards of

66. More likely it was "gyp" water that did the damage.

red ribbon, giving each one half a yard, with which they were pleased and grateful. One of them had already agreed to go with us as far as the river to direct us to the ford, but when all the rest had said goodbye and he had accompanied us half a league, he was seized with such fear that we could not persuade him to continue. The companions, with little reflection, wished that we should forcibly make him keep his word but we, knowing his reluctance, let him go at will. [The diary continues until Santa Fé is reached]

BARREIRO'S OJEADA SOBRE NUEVO-MEXICO

LANSING B. BLOOM

Early in the year 1828 the federal authorities in Mexico arranged to supply the Territory of New Mexico with a district court. Salaries were provided, of 1,000 p^s. for the district judge, 500 p^s. for an attorney general, 500 p^s. for a clerk of the district judge, and 300 p^s. for a constable of the district judge. The plan for such a court failed, however, because there was not a single qualified lawyer then resident in New Mexico.¹

The authorities then decided to send to Santa Fe an *aseor*, or legal adviser to the territorial authorities, and Lic. Don Eleuterio María de Lagarza was named; but in November, 1830, he informed the deputation at Santa Fe that he had resigned the office. By the spring of 1831, however, a lawyer had been secured and had arrived in Santa Fe.² This was Lic. Antonio Barreiro.

It is tantalizing to know so little as we do about a man who played an important part in the early affairs of New Mexico. Perhaps it is a safe inference that he was comparatively young and recently married; he speaks of "his son" being born in this country which he had come to love with devoted ardor.³ On June 1, 1832, he dispatched to his superior the descriptive sketch which he had been asked to prepare, and which is here edited. In August of the same year he was president of a "grand commission" in Santa Fe which arranged the observance that year of the national festivity on September 16th.⁴ In February, 1833,

1. *Old Santa Fe*, I, p. 271.

2. *Ibid.*

3. See the last paragraph of the *Ojeada*.

4. *Old Santa Fe*, I, p. 364.

Barreiro was elected the deputy from New Mexico to the national congress in Mexico City.⁵

It is reasonably certain that it was Antonio Barreiro who purchased and introduced into New Mexico the first and only printing-press of Mexican times.⁶ It is beyond question that, after returning in the summer of 1834 from his first term in congress, he started on this press the first periodical which was ever published in New Mexico.⁷ No copy has survived, nor is even the name known, but on October 8, 1834, when preparing to leave for another two-year term in congress to which he had been re-elected, the minutes of the deputation for that day record the fact that he had presented them with "a file of the periodical which he published in this capital."⁸

With this departure from Santa Fe we lose sight of Barreiro. How much of his second biennium as deputy to congress he served, we do not know — possibly he continued until the change, a year later, from the federal to the departmental system of government which affected the whole nation.⁹

Barreiro wrote his *Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico* nearly a hundred years ago, and it is interesting to note the meager and imperfect knowledge which contemporary New Mexicans of that time had regarding the earlier history of their territory. The chief value of the work, however, lies in the discriminating yet sympathetic picture which it gives of New Mexico as it then was, presented not by one who had grown up within the territory but by one of cultured mind and legal training who had come to New Mexico from *la tierra afuera*, the outer world, and who wrote therefore with a cosmopolitan point of view. This is thought sufficient reason for republishing the little work in the city where it was first written.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 354.

6. *Ibid.*, I, 365.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, note.

9. *Old Santa Fe*, II, 5.

A GLANCE OVER NEW MEXICO

DISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO

It is said that Alvarez Nuñez and certain other Spaniards, saved from the shipwreck of Pánfilo Narvaez in Florida, came overland even to Mexico by way of this territory, and that it was they who gave to these natives some notion of the Catholic religion, and who reported to their government so that the conquest of this country might be undertaken.

Others, without mentioning this improbable wandering, relate how the lay "religious," Fr. Marcos de Niza, son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, discovered this country in the year 1581,¹ having reached the pueblos which are now named Zuñi but which in those times were called the Province of Cíbola. However that may be, it is certain that Juan de Oñate, bearing letters patent from Philip II addressed to the viceroy of Mexico Zuñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterey, entered New Mexico in the year 1595 with the first Spaniards who populated it, bringing with him sixty-five Franciscan religious.²

As soon as the Indians had recovered from the first surprise occasioned by the arrival of men whom they took to be gods; when also the charm had passed from the baubles with which it was sought to bedazzle them; and the instant that they were persuaded that their conquerors sought only the idol of gold and were ambitious to have slaves, the pueblos of New Mexico break out in a truly heroic struggle

1. The discovery occurred in 1539. The date given is of the later *entrada* by Fray Agustín Ruiz and Chamuscado.

2. The author again depended on unreliable information. The correct number of Franciscans was ten, and Oñate's actual entrance was not until 1598. *Vide* Hammond, G. P., *Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* (*N. Mex. Historical Review*, I-II).

against their fierce oppressors, and slew the governor and the religious,³ the only Spaniards who escaped being those who fled for refuge to the pueblos of El Paso del Norte. This took place about the year 1644.⁴

In the reign of Philip III the Province was entered for reconquest by Don Diego Vargas Zapata, marquis of Nava, and the conquerors advanced up the Rio Bravo del Norte to the 46° (north latitude).⁵ The French assert that they made entry here, but this is a very crass misrepresentation, because in later years or at the time of the discovery of Louisiana they visited an arm of the Mississippi which is to the west of the true mouth or that river, about fifty leagues from its legitimate entrance to the sea; and they put it down as the Rio Bravo del Norte, confounding it with the river which is so in fact and which is far distant from that river on the same coast.

Founded upon such an erroneous opinion perhaps the United States will base a pretence to the regions which extend to the left bank of our Rio del Norte, claiming that river as the boundary of Louisiana; but in proof that such a pretension is ridiculous and unfounded one must bear carefully in mind the treaty of friendship and settlement of differences and boundaries which was drawn up in the year 1821 by Don Luis de Oniz and Mr. John Quincy Adams as plenipotentiaries, the former for the king of Spain and the latter for the government of the United States, since in it the boundary is designated which separates this Republic and that of the north. If the United States had had any possible title to throw over any lands which they covet,

3. Author's note no. 1 at this point reads: "The pueblos of San Juan and Pecos were the only ones which saved their missionaries in this revolution. Another missionary escaped death by flight to Mexico and carried with him an image of the Virgin, called Our Lady of the War Club, which is venerated in the great convent of San Francisco in Mexico."

4. Very little is yet known regarding the outbreak of 1644. It is here confused with the successful uprising of 1680. Notice in this paragraph the Mexican point of view towards the Spanish *conquistadores*.

5. Either a printer's mistake for 36°, or an intentional exaggeration by the author. The Rio Bravo, of course, was the present Rio Grande.

it is incredible that they would not have demanded them at that time from the king of Spain. But turning from this digression into which the subject has naturally led me, I will resume the consideration of New Mexico.

With the development and consolidation of the conquered countries many settlements were being formed, and to this Territory was given the name of New Granada. The first mission was located in Teguayó,⁶ and it is asserted that by the year 1608 more than eight thousand souls had already been baptized.⁷

In the year 1611⁸ the captain already mentioned, Juan de Oñate, set out from this country towards the east and discovered the Caníbaros Lakes (but which they are is not known,) and also a red river which seems to be that of the Cadaudachos, or of the Palisade; and from this occupation issues the indubitable right which our nation has to all the lands which are found east of this Territory.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND POSITION OF NEW MEXICO

The Territory of New Mexico is one of the most re-

6. Rather curiously stated but correct. Teguayó was that part of the Pueblo Indian world occupied by the Tegua (Tewa) linguistic stock, extending from the present Santa Fe northwards to the region of the pueblo of San Juan, where the first colony under Don Juan de Oñate was established. And here also, naturally, was the center of the first work by the Franciscan missionaries. But the name "Teguayó" very early became dissociated from the country of the then Tewas and shrouded with a veil of mystery and legend. About the year 1668 Governor Peñalosa represented it to the viceroy in Mexico as a field for further discovery lying north of the "kingdom of New Mexico." And a century later, in a letter written to his superior, Fr. Morfi, Fr. Escalante gave as his opinion (based on the diary of Oñate and other ancient writers) that "Teguayó should be considered at the most two hundred leagues to the northwest of Santa Fe; and it is nothing but the land by way of which the Tihuas, Tehuas, and the other Indians transmigrated to this kingdom; which is clearly shown by the ruins of the pueblos which I have seen in it, the form of which was the same that they afterwards gave to theirs in New Mexico. . . . To which is added the tradition prevailing with them, which proves the same." (Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of N. M.*, II, pp. 3, 279) These views found expression in maps of the 17th and 18th centuries, whether by French, Spanish, Dutch, or English cosmographers. All which show Teguayó, place it northwest of Santa Fe beyond the occupied regions of New Mexico — in one case as far away as the shores of Great Salt Lake. See *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, II, Oct., map by Coronelli (168—); also *N. Mex. Hist. Society*, map collection: N. de Fer (1700), Bellin (1704), Schenck (1710?), Alzate y Ramirez (1768), Clouet (1782) Juan Lopez (1786), Moithey (1789).

mote divisions of our Republic which lies to the north. Geographically it extends from the 33° to the 45° of latitude,⁷ reaching some three hundred leagues from south to north, and almost the same number from east to west.⁸ Its northern boundary is with the State of Missouri pertaining to the United States and with other regions absolutely unknown. On the south it is contiguous with the State of Chihuahua; on the east with the State of Coahuila and Texas, and with the Territory of Arkansas pertaining to the United States of America; and on the west with Sonora. Nothing can be said exactly as to its elevation above sea-level, or as to other circumstances of its location, because the data for this are lacking.

The surface of the country is cut from south to north by the great cordillera, so that the land might well be mountainous, but the greater part consists of immense plains and delightful valleys, clothed with very abundant pasturage.

It has rivers of abundant water and completely separated: such are the Pecos, the Colorado,¹¹ the Napeste,¹² and various others, but the principal one is the Rio Bravo or Del Norte which I will now describe.

The Rio Bravo or Del Norte is the principal river of New Mexico and, according to reports, has its source in the Mount of the Cranes.¹³ Its general course is from west to east, to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, and its tributaries are the rivers of Taos, Don Fernando, Tesuque,

7. The date given is significant. Shortly after 1608, the seat of government was moved from San Gabriel to the new settlement at Santa Fe.

8. Possibly another press error. Oñate's expedition to the plains was in 1601.

9. Which would be the northern line of the present state of Wyoming.

10. Author's note no. 2 at this point reads: "All these geographical notes are full of a thousand errors, as nothing is known exactly and we speak only from ill-formed conjectures and worse information."

11. He means the Red River, south of the Canadian.

12. The Arkansas River.

13. *Cerro de las grullas*.— Three different maps by Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco (all of 1779) show the "Sierra de las Grullas" along the upper course of the Chama River, northwest of Santa Fe. Probably Barreiro had no information as to the source of the main stream of the Rio Grande.

Mora, Tecolote, Gallinas, Pecos, Santa Ana,¹⁴ Puerco, Santa Barbara, Ojo Caliente, Chama, Picuries, and Santa Fe.¹⁵ This voluminous Nile is, so to speak, the soul of the Territory, for her richest settlements are upon its truly picturesque margins. The variety of its shady groves, the charming woods which adorn it, the diverse prospects afforded by its meadows cultivated by a multitude of laboring men, the countless herds which quench their thirst in its floods, and that unnumbered myriad of exquisite birds which enliven it, as also the abundant savory fish which it nourishes in its waters, make New Mexico seem to the sight of the observer a place of veritable delights.

The waters of the Rio Bravo themselves are clear and pure, but they are muddied by the turgid Abiquiú which empties into it through the Chama River.

According to Humboldt, this river has a length of five hundred and twelve maritime leagues. Melting snows occasion its extraordinary freshets, these beginning in April, reaching their height in May, and diminishing in June.

It is related that in 1752 the main channel suddenly went dry for some thirty leagues above El Paso and for some twenty more below. The waters precipitated themselves into a newly formed channel and reappeared near San Elceario; but three weeks later the waters returned to their ancient course.

The river is fordable when there is no freshet, but at such a time it is passible only by canoe. There is scarcely a year that some lamentable mishap does not occur, which would be avoided with suitable bridges, even though temporary ones, as there have been in times past. Certain private individuals have desired to provide this benefit in return for the tolls that would be allowed them, though I know not on what terms; but the real remedy would be to construct a good bridge of stone-work at a proper loca-

14. The Jemez River.

15. Author's note no. 3 reads: "Some other rivers are tributary to it, but outside of the Territory."

tion, as there is abundant material for it, and although the government should expend a considerable sum to carry out this project, yet it would soon be returned with interest, since all the world would gladly pay the tolls which would be imposed.¹⁶

LAKES

Of the various lakes in the Territory there are two principal ones. The first is that which is found thirty-four leagues southwest from the capital and which gives the name to the nearby pueblo. It is some two thousand varas¹⁷ in circumference, and its sweet waters, coming from a great spring some eight leagues distant and from other smaller ones, form a fairly deep reservoir of which the people avail themselves to irrigate a large part of their fields.

The second lake is that found in the heights of the Santa Fe Range, but I shall speak of it in the corresponding place.

MOUNTAIN AND RANGES

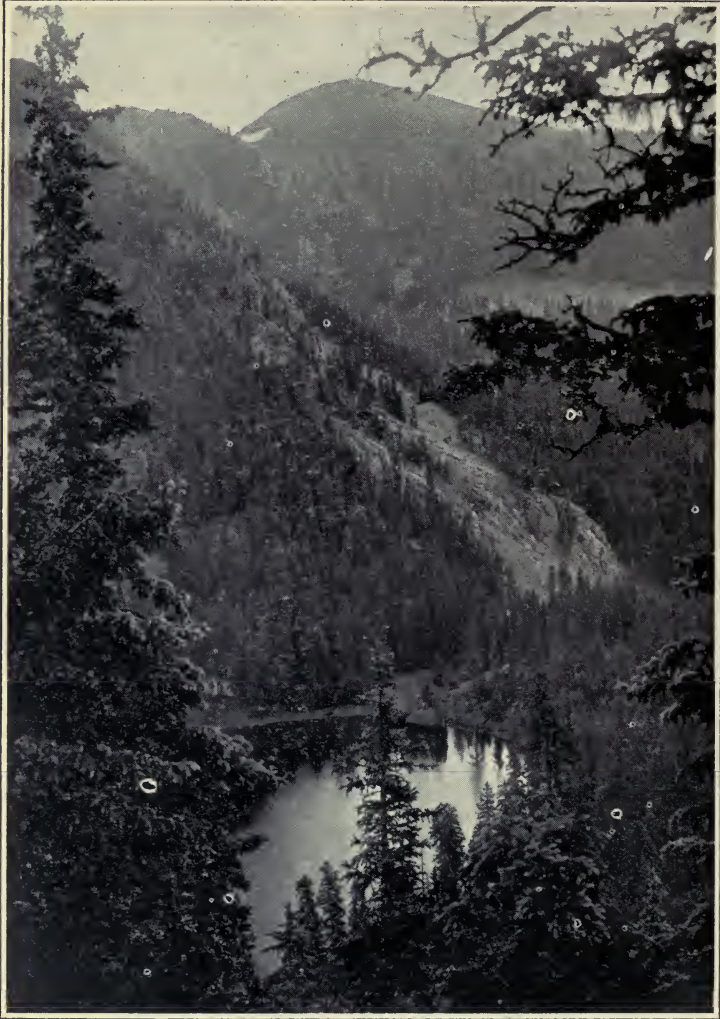
I have said that the Cordillera crosses this Territory from south to north. There are other ranges and mountains also, well supplied with all kinds of choice timber, the foliage of which affords charming scenery. Many ranges are found which have lofty peaks always crowned with snow, among them the Nambé range being the most notable, since the slopes of one side are in view from this capital.

THE SANTA FE RANGE

The sierra of Santa Fe which lies to the east rises to

16. For some account of earlier efforts in the matter of bridges, see Bloom, L. B., *Early Bridges in New Mexico* (School of American Research, *Papers*.)

17. A little over a mile.



SOURCE OF THE SANTA FE RIVER

a very considerable elevation,¹⁸ and on its summit is found a beautiful lake, the mother of the fair-sized stream which bathes this capital. The river dashes down from that great height through a cañon which is alluring to mechanical projects, so that many men of enterprise should enrich themselves by the establishment of mills and other machinery moved by water.

An Anglo-American company, recognizing this fact, has set up a private plant for the making of whiskey and very shortly we shall appreciate how valuable and lucrative such establishments are going to be. How long shall we be strangers on our own soil? How long will it be before we shall recognize the veritable fountains of wealth which we possess? In this sierra are timbers of great value and trees of enormous girth which seemingly intend to hide their tops in the sky. Of these the most famous is the spruce, more than forty *varas* tall and from five to seven *varas* thick.¹⁹ There are also the royal pine, the *ayacahuite*,²⁰ cedar, juniper, oak, and others well adapted by their grain and beauty for all uses to which lumber is put.

The wise Author of Nature has placed within the folds of this Cordillera a wonderful store of water which gives source to that multitude of copious streams which enrich and irrigate with their waters widely scattered lands both in this Republic and also in that of North America.²¹

ROADS

The interior roads of this Territory are on the whole

18. Lake Peak rising to 12,380 ft., is exceeded by eight other peaks, farther north in the same range. The four Truchas Peaks, all over 13,000 ft. according to the U. S. Geological Survey, are the highest in New Mexico.

19. The *vara* is a short yard, 33 inches.

20. The significance of *ayacahuite* has not been discovered. Like *ahuehuete* (a species of big tree in Mexico, of which some of the largest specimens are to be found in the Chapultepec Gardens, Mexico City), this word has the appearance of Nahuatl origin, but to what kind of timber in the Santa Fe Range it was applied by Barreiro is not apparent.

21. Barreiro is thinking of the Rocky Mountains as a whole. Few realize, for example, that the Missouri River is much longer than the Mississippi.

convenient, for most of them follow the rivers and pass through settlements where there is much hospitality. They are all used by vehicles except that which leads to Taos by way of La Cañada,²² for on that road a very high range scarcely permits horses to pass through its defiles. All roads are secure and the traveller journeys without fear that a highwayman may relieve him of his effects or murder him.

The road to the United States by the route to Missouri is very beautiful, for it traverses immense plains and for most of the way follows the banks of rivers which present views of the greatest variety. In the distance of more than two hundred and fifty leagues, no settlement is encountered and only numerous Gentile²³ nations are seen until one arrives at the first settlements of North America in the county of Jefferson. Caravans of Anglo-Americans travel this road annually; but in a separate section this matter will be discussed.

CLIMATE

As a general observation, it is said to be colder in New Mexico than in Europe in the same latitudes, and the difference is usually considered to be equivalent to nine or ten degrees of latitude.

Many days in winter the mercury drops to zero Remaur,²⁴ and prevailingly there are north winds which are very cold and penetrating. In the next section I am going to give a more detailed idea of the winted season.

WINTER

As the New Mexican winter so particularly impresses

22. Santa Cruz.

23. A term commonly applied to Indian tribes which had not been brought under Mother Church.

24. By the Remaur thermometer, 0° is equivalent to 32° Farenheit, or freezing temperature.

all those who know that cold is experienced here, I wish to present some notes relative to it. As a rule winter begins in September and is most severe in December and January. By February it modifies and as early as April or May the temperature is highly agreeable.

Many years, the snows are very abundant, especially in the heights where they always remain. When the winter is extreme the cold becomes insupportable, the largest streams are congealed to their very beds and the ice takes on such solidity and thickness that well-loaded wagons, pack trains and people on horseback may cross on it, and it serves as a solid and well constructed bridge for every manner of traffic.

In the cow-houses, often times, the milk congeals almost on issuing from the cow's udder and one can carry it in a napkin to melt it in his house and to use it as desired. In short, the cold produces after this manner rare and astonishing phenomena.

Some will believe that, the fact being as stated, men cannot live in this country. But such an idea is a fantasy by which various persons are terrified, for the climate of New Mexico is truly healthful. Here people live to prolonged days and there are numerous aged persons of ninety, a hundred, and even more years of age. On the other hand, the climate is mollified by the abundant and rich pelts which this country affords for protection, and the houses have winter apartments with comfortable and warm chambers where the hearths are always glowing.

The men out in the field are those who generally suffer from the rigors of the season, for many have their extremities frozen by the cold and others lose their lives, considerable losses in the flocks being sustained from the same cause.

POPULATION

According to statistics, New Mexico has a population

of 41,458 inhabitants. The greater part of her population is extended along the borders of the Rio del Norte within a distance of sixty or seventy leagues, but this immense country is found almost unpeopled.

The places which have the greatest number are: Santa Fe, the capital of the Territory, Alburquerque, Taos, and Santa Cruz de la Cañada.

Santa Fe.— It is in $36^{\circ} 30''$ north latitude and $24^{\circ} 15''$ longitude,²⁵ watered by a river of the same name, and according to data, it lies some three hundred and forty leagues to the northwest of New Orleans. By a census taken in 1831 its population amounts to 5,275 persons.

A quarter of a league distant is found a sierra covered with various kinds of timber which furnish the people with an abundance of fuel (this is the Santa Fe range lying to the east which I have already mentioned). The principal plaza is quadrilateral in shape and is fairly large. Its north side is occupied by the edifice known by the name of Palace, and by a small part of the city-wall. Although the edifice mentioned is very spacious, it is partly in ruins and is in general disrepair. In it lives the governor,²⁶ and it has the hall where the Deputation holds its sessions, and various suites which serve as offices for the company pay-master, the commissary, the barracks, the guard-house — all in the worst state imaginable. In the center of the same square and upon an adobe base some three *varas* in height is found a sundial which is the only public clock which the authorities and employees have to guide them. It was erected by Governor Don Antonio Narbona and upon it is enscribed this apothegm from the Scripture: *vita fugit sicut umbra.*²⁷ Various private houses take up

25. West from Washington. Possibly by another printer's error, seconds are indicated instead of minutes.

26. Then known by the title *gefe politico*.

27. Life fleeth like a shadow." *Vide* Job 14:2.

the south side, and in the center of it is the church known by the name of Castrense.²⁸

The east and west sides are occupied by private houses, on the east being found also a commodious but dirty hall in which the *ayuntamiento*²⁹ holds its sessions, and on the west side is a neat and charming oratory dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity.

From the corners of this plaza branch off the streets which form the city. Their course is very crooked and the chief of them is, like the plaza, adorned with wooden portals.³⁰ In the outskirts are found many houses placed at random and at rather troublesome distances for frequent and daily intercourse. Santa Fe has five churches and two public oratories, but as these are of adobe and some of them are almost abandoned they present an exceedingly unpleasant appearance. With the plaza towards the north as its center we find the city-wall which in former times was famous for its length and good construction.

Although the private residences are low and built of adobe, many of them are roomy and quite attractive. There are a number of clothing stores and a regular commerce.

Santa Fe has locations well suited for public promenades and the abundance of cottonwood trees close by them would make the task very easy for any beneficent man who might wish to do this service.

The Villa of Alburquerque.— This town is situated on the east bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte, westwards from this capital and distant some thirty-three leagues.

Taos.— This is a pueblo located at the foot of the range of that name, and watered by a river which divides it in

28. The military chapel, built by General Valverde y Cosío between the years 1717 and 1722. It had two towers and was dedicated to Our Lady of Lights. *Vide* Davis, *El Gringo*, 175; Twitchell, *Story of Old Santa Fe*, 50, 154, 334.

29. The town-council.

30. This would be the street now known as San Francisco St., east to the Cathedral, and west and across the river to the Guadalupe Church. Originally the plaza extended clear to the cathedral, but long before Barreiro's time, buildings had encroached on the eastern half of the plaza. *Vide* Urritía map of Santa Fe (1768).

two. Its population is scattered in three plazas or sections, one of which is the pueblo of Indians whose dwellings are the most distinctive in the Territory, presenting an astonishing sight because of their height, for each house consists of four, five and six stories. Their occupants are reputed to be the most valiant in New Mexico and they have given repeated proofs of this in the continuous campaigns which they wage with the barbarous nations to the north.

The plaza or settlement of San Fernando.— Situated in the beautiful valley of Taos, it is about two leagues distant from the pueblo, and it is here that the curate has his abode since it is central to the whole population.

The plaza³¹ of El Rancho.— It lies to the south of San Fernando and about half a league away. It has a moderate population and is celebrated for the famous mill established there by the stranger from North America, Don Juan Rolliens,³² for the manufacture of whiskey.

The Valley of Taos.— This is certainly one of the most beautiful and fruitful parts of the Territory. The foliage on the mountains which surround it, the different streams which water it, and other scenic beauties present to one's view charms which are truly delightful. In years of sterility or lack of seed it is the valley of Taos which has sufficient for all New Mexico and the people there always have enough remaining for their own maintenance.

Taos is celebrated moreover for its commerce and because it is, as it were, the point of contact at which the great companies of beaver trappers regularly touch when they leave the United States, and it serves as a center for other companies. Taos is the most northern town to be

31. Author's note no. 4 reads: "It should be understood that in New Mexico the word *plaza* is a term used to signify or to indicate that there is a group of houses in some place."

32. According to local tradition, supplied by Mr. L. Pascual Martinez of Taos, a "John Rawlins" lived at Taos in the early '30s. He and a brother were engaged in the fur trade and later established a distillery, or *vinatero*, about three miles up the little Rio Grande cañon, in charge of one Pedro Antonio Gallegos. Later, according to Taos tradition, the Rawlins brothers left for California.

found in the Republic, and it is distant from Santa Fe about forty leagues.

The villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada.— Situated in the angle formed by the Chimayó river and the Bravo del Norte, it is found some ten leagues from Santa Fe towards the northwest.

INDIAN PUEBLOS

The pueblos of Indians are: Taos, Xemes, Santa Clara, Pecuris, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambé, Tezuque, Pecos, Cochité, Sía, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Sandia, la Isleta, la Laguna, Zuñi, Acoma and Santa Ana. The spiritual care of these pueblos is entrusted to the religious of the Province of the Holy Evangel of Mexico, but unfortunately they are in the most doleful neglect, since only five of them have missionary fathers, so that, if the zeal of the government does not speedily take the most active measures to remedy such an evil, the vacant missions never will be occupied and the cure of souls of the unhappy natives will continue to suffer from the enormous lacks which it has long endured.

The pueblos named are certainly of an original construction, since they are built like well defended ramparts. They have two or more stories and the lower apartments, generally called *cois*, are completely enclosed, and overhead (in the rafters) are located small doors with ladders which lead to their floors. The upper stories are found to have corridors and wooden balconies, but always towards the interior or plaza of the pueblo, thus affording a system well suited for defense in case of attack by the barbarians who are on all sides of New Mexico.

All the pueblos have their *estufas*, for so the natives term certain underground rooms built with only one door, where they gather to rehearse their dances, to celebrate their feasts, and to hold their councils. These are like

impenetrable temples where they congregate to consider in secret their misfortunes or successes, their pleasures or sorrows, and the doors are always closed to the Spaniards, for so they call us.

All these pueblos, notwithstanding the sway which Religion has over them, cannot forget certain teachings which have been handed down to them by tradition and which they are careful scrupulously to teach to their descendants; whence arises the adoration which they pay to the sun, to the moon and to the other heavenly bodies, the regard which they have for fire, &c. &c.

In many of the pueblos named they work every kind of jars or pots for house use, and these Indians in general are given to husbandry, to hunting and fishing; they make saddle-trees, tan hides, mill flour, and make other products; some of them can read and write, and they all have a ready speech, quick judgment, and an uncultivated but persuasive eloquence. In their decisions they are dilatory, in everything they act by common agreement, and in their dealings they are exceedingly virtuous and truthful. The said pueblos have different idioms but they speak Spanish. Rarely does hunger assail them because their foresight leads them to work with prudence. They put an extreme value on eagles; there is scarcely a pueblo but has one or more of them, which they catch alive at the cost of great effort. With the feathers of these birds they construct their best arrows which they use in war and sell at high price to the Gentiles for horses and other valuable effects. It is said that the feather of the eagle possesses a wonderful virtue for cleaving and cutting the air and many almost incredible illustrations are related in proof of this assertion, but the only evidence of this property which has to be cited is the diligence which all the warlike and barbarous nations of these regions show to buy pottery adorned with the eagle feather design.³³

33. Possibly Barreiro means the diminutive ceremonial jars adorned with the actual "breath feather" of the eagle, but in either case the author seems unaware

In concluding the section in which I have discussed the Indians of New Mexico, I will say that their customs, ceremonies and dances arouse in the one who considers them a thousand pathetic reflections. Yes, they recall generations now gone forever, times buried in oblivion, and days of calamity, of oppression and of shame when a ferocious nation dared to conquer great Mexico and, with criminal intent tried to exterminate her indigenous races. Ancient Mexicans! Now do ye pertain only to history, and your survivors will perish very shortly!³⁴

A GENERAL IDEA OF THE POPULATION

I have already stated at the beginning that the estimated population of New Mexico exceeded 40,000 souls, but as the data on which this calculation is based are incomplete, because the reports are still lacking as to the number of souls in many places, it ought to be set at 50,000. We cannot state the relation of births to deaths even in one year, and as there are not sufficient statistical reports it is clear that the proportion in births and deaths to the number of inhabitants can be of still less value for determining approximately the advance in population; but it can be stated pretty affirmatively that the ratio is favorable to humanity.

I have already said that the pueblos of Indians are diminishing considerably, and this loss of population can be attributed to no other cause than to a deep seated abuse which obtains among the Indian women, for they do not wish to bear more than four children and they attain their object by means of beverages which they take to that end.

of the ceremonial significance of the eagle. Of piercing eye and soaring high above all other birds, the eagle was to the Pueblo Indian symbolic of the "Father Sky" and was the great "rain bringer." An eagle feather design in pottery decoration was, therefore, in effect a prayer for rain — so essential to all life in the semi-arid southwest.

34. Author's note no. 5 reads: "It is noticed that the Indian race is becoming extinct, for the pueblos mentioned are diminishing considerably from day to day."

prejudicial, so that it would be desirable for the proper authorities to be on the watch and to avail themselves of all possible means to eradicate it.

ITS NATURAL PRODUCTS IN THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

The Buffalo.— The buffalo is a species of ox found in these parts in incredible abundance. This class of animals goes in herds. Their meat is of the most delicious taste, as it is very succulent and tender, and their tongues, better than those of the cow, make a delicious food. The buffalo are swift runners and do not lack for strength, courage and ferocity. When tamed they show great docility and learn many things, becoming attached to their owner. In desiring the female they become furious, bellow with grief, and rush against some post with such violence as to blunt their horns. They are nine feet in length, little more or less, and will measure some five or six feet in height. In their other details they resemble the common ox, but between the head and the withers they have a hump. Their horns are small considering the size of the animal, gray-colored for half their length and black from there to the tip.

This colossal quadruped, while seeming to manifest only deformities, is nevertheless of wonderful beauty. His head, which is of normal size with respect to his body, appears to have extraordinary bulk because of the long thick hair which covers it and which it has underneath the lower jaw, on the jowls, the dewlap, and between the forelegs. The hair is more silky and lustrous than wool. On the shoulders and on the hump or crook the hair grows thick, long and as if crimped, yet is exceedingly fine to the touch. This kind of crest gives the buffalo the noble and majestic presence of the lion. The long hair of the head covers his ears which are not very large. He has beautiful eyes, round and with blue pupils, and by them one knows instantly whether he is enraged or tranquil. His mouth has eight

incisors, very white in the lower jaw, while his tongue is long and dark. The buffalo change their hair yearly, that which covered them in winter dropping from them in summer. Their tail is about sixteen inches long and ends in a tassel of long soft hair.

Buffalo hunting.— The inhabitants of this country hunt the buffalo in the months of June and October. Accordingly in the latter month, after gathering their harvest, they assemble in caravans and set out in different directions. In October they aim to hunt buffalo cows, since that is the season when they are found to be very fat and the bulls are thin; and in June they hunt the bulls, for the same reason applies inversely. The weapons suitable in this chase are lances, arrows and the musket, but this last is used to little advantage.

Some hunters are extremely dexterous and kill twelve, fifteen and more head in a single chase. At the place where they make their *real* (for so they term the place where they dismount) care is taken not to make any smoke, since that frightens the herd; and a like caution must be observed not to burn buffalo bones.

The hides of the buffalo killed in June are not made use of, because that is the time of shedding, but those taken in October and in winter are well furred and very fine.

The hunt is made on swift horses, trained for the purpose. At the very lowest estimate ten or twelve thousand head are killed annually, and if to this slaughter be added that made by the numberless swarms of natives who subsist off the buffalo herd, one can appreciate how prolific that herd is, in that it suffers no lessening, for at any time it is to be seen over the plains in vast droves, forming a horizon which the vision fails to comprehend.

If places for salting meat and for tanning hides should be established in this Territory, the chase would be very much more profitable, and especially so since the meat,

tongues and hides of the buffalo are highly esteemed generally.

Advantages which might be taken from the buffalo herd.— Since the buffalo is so docile that he loves the company of man and as he is so easily domesticated, it is clear that the buffalo might constitute a great part of our wealth, if care were taken in breeding and multiplying them after their decimation. The animal is one to which, because of his structure and the dimensions of all his bones, many naturalists attribute a strength double that of the ox; wherefore agriculture should anticipate immense advantages if buffalo were to be employed in place of our oxen in tilling the soil, as moreover it is known through certain experiments that they are more active than oxen in the work of plowing.

On the other hand, what part of the buffalo is wasted? His meat is very healthful and savory, his lard is good and his suet excellent; his wool is well suited for weaving and the hides are useful and valuable. His horns are so jet black that they admit of a beautiful polish and can be made into many useful and ornamental articles which would be exceedingly becoming if embellished with mother-of-pearl or with silver. In these ways, behold how New Mexico might find in the buffalo herd a source of wealth from which to improve her agriculture and to embellish her arts.

The sorrel deer or "bura."— The figure of this animal is certainly gallant. Its body is like that of a mule, and its antlers astonish one's eyes by their grandeur, their branches rising from six to seven feet from base to tip. The flesh is said to be bad but the skins are very valuable. The Gentiles tan them very well and from them they get fine leather, larger than a cowhide.

Wild horses or mustangs.— There are an abundance of them and they are very useful when domesticated.

Sheep and rams which they call cimarron.— They say that the cimarron sheep and rams flee to the highest cliffs

and that from enormous heights they let themselves fall headlong, the tremendous shock of which they receive on their thick horns and thus they sustain no injury, beginning to run the instant after they alight. The use which might be made of the skins of the cimarron would be many, as they are exceedingly soft. The Gentiles get a very fine chamois skin from them, of which they make their best shirts, which they value more highly than we do our shirts of cambric.

Small stock.— The many thousands of sheep which are produced in the Territory are without comparison in all the Republic. This stock increases from day to day in an almost incredible manner and it may be said that, if New Mexico establishes peace with the barbarous nations upon a permanent footing and attains that degree of enlightenment which would teach her how advantageously to conduct her commerce in sheep, she will flourish in this industry alone as much as Chihuahua has through her mines. Happy will that time be when the government shall extend a protecting hand to this land, for then will these fields, now wild and desert, be converted into rich and happy pastures!

The herding of goats.— This branch cannot be said to amount to much, and the herding of swine has no attention whatever.³⁵

"Hens of the earth."— So they call turkeys in this country. There is a myriad of them in the woods and as is already known their flesh is very delicate. Few make a

35. It is significant that Barreiro does not even mention any industry in *ganado mayor*, cattle. Cattle had been introduced before the end of the 16th century, yet even for domestic purposes their place was largely taken by the buffalo and other game animals which, as already shown, supplied meat, lard, tallow, furs and leather. At this time cattle seem to have been too insignificant to mention as an industry but, twenty years before, they made a small showing in the statistics given at the cortes in Spain by Deputy Pedro Bautista Pino. *Vide* Bloom, L. B., *New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-46* (*Old Santa Fe*, I, 37).

business of hunting them, and none tame and domesticate them so as to have them in flocks.³⁶

Hunting and fishing in general.— Parti-colored deer, gray, and long-tail abound; also bear of all colors, rabbits and hares, partridge, quail, crane, duck, geese and other fine game.

In the streams trout are taken, eel, catfish, stickleback, Shoal-fish, mud-turtle and tortoise, all savory and the last named as heavy as two pounds.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

The vegetable products found in New Mexico are those usual to countries of her temperature. Besides those most essential for the maintenance of her inhabitants, garden-produce is raised in abundance and excellent fruits. Her sierras are heavily timbered with many and beautiful woods such as the fir, the *ayacahuite*, cedar, juniper, oak and other kinds of large girth and extremely tall; for firs may be seen more than forty *varas* tall and from five to seven thick. Many fine resins are met with also, and some so aromatic that they can vie with the incense termed "Castilian."

Fruits.— These are few in number but of especial flavor. There are very good apples, apricots, wild strawberries and mulberries, plums, grapes, peaches, cherries, excellent canteloupes³⁷ and watermelons.

Medicinal herbs.— There are herbs of extraordinary virtue for the curing of all kinds of sickness. The Pueblo Indians and the Gentiles understand them perfectly and apply them with great skill. To a man equipped with botanical knowledge the plants referred to would afford sufficient material for long study and perhaps for very useful discoveries.

³⁶. And yet, except for a few dogs, this was the one domesticated animal in the Southwest in prehistoric times.

³⁷. Not the "Rocky Ford" but evidently the kind still raised by Pueblo Indians.

MINERAL PRODUCTS

The products of this species which New Mexico has are numerous, but those accounted to be the most important are lead in abundance, copper, iron, hard coal, jasper, sulphur, crystallized gypsum, alum, and talc.

Moreover there are some ordinary clays and others worthy of attention for their quality and fineness. In the pueblo of Acoma is found a black-colored clay called *barropiedra* (stone clay) from which the potter's wheel can turn out any sort of vessel commonly used in the house.³⁸

Earths of different colors.— There are many, such as blue, green, yellow, white, red, and in the pueblo of Zuñi there is a smalt or Prussian blue which is exceedingly exquisite.

Quarry stones.— Many are found, among them some of a very white jasper and others of beautiful quality. Considerable jet is found also, &c. &c., but nothing of this sort is utilized, nor is any use apparent which might be possible.

Gold and silver mines.— It would soon be known how many there are in this country if there were men who would undertake to develop them or those skilled to work them. There are some placer mines where virgin gold is found in small grains and of extreme fineness.³⁹

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is utterly neglected, for the inhabitants of this country do not sow any amount, as they might do to great profit without any doubt. They sow barely what they consider necessary for their maintenance a part of the year, and for the rest of the year they are exposed to a thousand miseries. So that the total value of the crops undergoes great fluctuations.

38. Except that no potter in Acoma or any other pueblo has ever used the wheel!

39. The "New Placers" south of Santa Fe were discovered in 1826.

Already in the section on *vegetable products* I have given an idea of the garden-produce and fruits, so it is not necessary to repeat that corn, wheat, beans &c. are raised. Very good cotton also is grown, and very good tobacco.

A vast expanse of lands favored by Nature, with climate propitious and adequate for the raising of agricultural products which ought to be the lot of the New Mexicans, is found abandoned because of the barbarians who occupy them or invade them frequently. But the peace with these enemies which New Mexico hopes to secure will allow her to occupy those fine areas and from them agriculture will receive an extraordinary advancement.

THE ARTS

The arts are in the worst state imaginable, even those which are indispensable for the primary necessities of life.

Woven fabrics.— These are very rough, since in wool only coarse work is done, and the cotton weaving is absolutely without merit because of the abundance of foreign goods, better in quality and cheaper in price.⁴⁰

There are some Anglo-American artisans established here, and doubtless we must look to them to improve the arts in New Mexico, for it is to be believed that the sons of the country will become instructed in the foreign shops, or at least that they will be incited by seeing the fine products of these artisans. Among the foreigners there are tailors, carpenters, excellent gunsmiths, blacksmiths, hatters, tinsmiths, shoemakers, &c. &c.

(to be concluded)

40. This hardly does credit to the Navajo blanket. It would indicate, however, that the Spanish effort to foster the art of weaving had been a complete failure, except as it survived in the famous Chimayó blanket. *Vide* Bloom L. B., *Early Weaving in New Mexico* (*N. Mex. Hist. Review*, II, 228-238).

THE PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL REPORT

Fellow Members of the New Mexico Historical Society:

It is not a mere accident that the largest enrollment in any class at the State University is that in New Mexico history under Dr. C. F. Coan, one of the Fellows of the New Mexico Historical Society. Nor is it just a coincidence that the New Mexico press is editorializing at present on the value of historical landmarks to the Commonwealth as an attraction which brings people, money and the best kind of publicity to the Southwest. It is certainly significant that the chief executive of the State, our Senators in Congress and Representative in Congress whenever opportunity offers emphasize as among the main attractions of New Mexico its archaeology, history and historic traditions. It is proof that the work and influence of the New Mexico Historical Society and its publications are bearing abundant fruit and are returning to the State a hundred and a thousand-fold the money, time and effort expended upon them. The officers and members of the Society are therefore justified in taking their duties and privileges most seriously. Only a few days ago, a great Protestant denomination distributed in all of its churches, a folder entitled: "The Logic of History. History doesn't just happen: It is made!" The New Mexico Historical Society has been making history for New Mexico and is also recording it as well as preserving it for future generations. Other agencies are coming to its aid and we should be deeply grateful, even if these other agencies do not always recognize the pioneer work of the New Mexico Historical Society and the effectiveness of its publication and educational efforts. In this connection let me call attention to an editorial printed last Sunday, December 18, one of a series which has appeared in the *Albuquerque Morning Journal*. It says:

NEW WORK FOR UNIVERSITY

The University of New Mexico has undertaken an important work in attempting to preserve a number of places of historical interest in the state. A committee has been named to make an investigation of the scientific resources of the state and to report on ways and means for acquiring these resources for future scientific purposes.

The preliminary announcement points to the fact that the recent report of the state highway department estimated the tourist travel in the state now brings us sixteen million dollars annually. While the announcement does not say, it can readily be seen, that, with our historical places fully developed, the attractions for tourists will be materially enhanced, not only increasing the number of visitors, but lengthening the stay of those who pass through the state.

There are a number of places within a short distance of Albuquerque that can be developed by the university, such as the San Pedro ruins, and going a little further, important exploration and research work can be made in the Jemez country; in fact in all parts of the state as the scope of this work can be increased by the university.

Outside agencies to date have been chiefly interested in scientific researches in the state. It is important that some state agency take a hand in preserving these places of scientific, prehistoric and scenic interests. It will fit in with the work other agencies are doing to attract more tourists to New Mexico.

It is quite proper that the State University and the State Museum take the lead in all research work in the Southwest. It is their manifest duty to co-ordinate the efforts of all other research agencies and to watch jealously over the priceless heritage that the past has bestowed upon New Mexico. They should prevent the indiscriminate scattering of the objects obtained by the excavation and exploitation of archaeological and historical sites. Every effort must be made to conserve to the State, its people and future generations, the historical heirlooms which grow more valuable with each generation. Not only should

there be strict supervision by the State's official agencies of the distribution of duplicate specimens but also of the field work by outside institutions and associations. Italy, for instance, will not permit any outside agency to excavate any of its archaeological and historical sites. Mexico and Guatemala forbid the exportation of archaeological specimens and Egypt retains for its Museum the first choice of all archaeological and historical objects. Other sovereignties have adopted and enforce this wise policy. Of course, every encouragement should be given to all true scientific workers and agencies in the field, no matter whence come the means to pay for the work. It is widely recognized that in its history and historic remains, New Mexico has an asset which neither drouth nor panic can diminish. Crops may fail, industry may sag, but the interest in places hallowed by great deeds and the march of mighty events, always will attract worshippers from far and near. The pilgrimages to the holy places of the Orient have never ceased even though cataclysms were tumbling thrones and destroying entire nations. So materialistic and prosaic a publication as the *Wall Street Journal* recently called upon New England to make more of its historic and scenic attractions. It says among other things words applicable to New Mexico:

New England has herself come to a livelier appreciation lately of that fine heritage; now she is seeking to spread properly—for all around benefit—that new appreciation. . . . Some 200 civic and business representatives, including particularly the automobile men, have just laid plans for a nation-wide presentation of New England's "vacation land" claims. . . . The most comprehensive auto tour of this section ever attempted will be undertaken by the motor clubs next spring. Next autumn when the New England landscape wears yet another glory some 3000 touring clerks from the American Automobile Association will be invited to tour New England. An "all New England" pamphlet will be given distribution through some 900 American Automobile Clubs in the country. By voice and

picture the charms of New England will be set forth. . . . It is not solely a pocketbook proposition on the part of New England interests thus aiming to tell their story more broadly. The cold fact may well be that New England in all that she has to offer is entitled to a larger share of the \$2,500,000,000 yearly motor tourist business of the country—a total sure to grow yet greater. But the case is bigger than the pecuniary angle of promotion or exploitation. It is largely reciprocal—letting the rest of the world know, and be glad of the knowledge. New England has been too reticent. . . . The question is asked me, "How should we capitalize these advantages?" I respond, "You should not capitalize them or issue shares upon them. We should make them serve not only the New England States, but the whole country, and I am sure they will in the future. We can't issue shares on what nature gave us; but we well can let the rest of the country know, and let it come and have its share."

It is gratifying to note in this connection that the Santa Fe Transportation Company is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars annually in publicity to make our historic and scenic attractions known, and that there are plans under way for the organization of a state-wide automobile association that will do for New Mexico what the Association referred to above is doing for New England. However, we must first sell our state, its history, scenery and climate to ourselves before we can convince others that no other state in the Union is as richly endowed as we are by Nature and History.

As I view it, the duties of the New Mexico Historical Society are four-fold: Research, Exhibition, Publication and Education. Let us briefly discuss each in turn:

RESEARCH

It is only in recent years that the New Mexico Historical Society has had the satisfaction of engaging in research work. True, this has been somewhat by proxy,

for it is only through the co-operation of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, that the Historical Society has been enabled to command practically all of the time and all of the results of the research work of its secretary, Lansing Bloom. His work in the Spanish Archives, in the records of the Mexican period of the Southwest and in the military muster rolls, to mention only a few of his lines of endeavor, have been noteworthy, and have resulted not only in bringing to light historical facts but also in such material results as pensions to New Mexico veterans of the Indian wars as well as preserving for posterity New Mexico's record in the Great War. He has through his zeal and scholarship interested other historical research workers in the Southwestern field, and the results have been spread before you each three months in the *New Mexico Historical Review*. In fact, there is no other agency in the State thus far, which has done or is doing as much research work in history as this Society, its Fellows and members, for we must remember that among its Fellows are men like Bolton, Hackett, Hewett, Lummis, Hodge, Hammond, Kidder, Bieber, Espinosa, Mecham, Coan, and others who are giving themselves to Southwestern research such as the University is now recognizing as the most important for the State which it can undertake. We should be grateful to Dr. J. F. Zimmerman, the president, for his vision and his practical views which are placing New Mexico's University in line with the State Universities of the other western States in service to commonwealths to which they owe their existence and maintenance.

The Historical Society will not stand still. Important tasks beckon it. Such fundamental historical facts as the founding of Santa Fe less than 320 years ago, are still shrouded in mist, although it seems certain that somewhere, in some musty alcove, or in some dust-covered pigeon hole in Seville or in Rome or perhaps, in Guadalajara, Durango or Mexico City, there are the very documents which will dispel the fog and disclose clearly the

facts. It seems highly improbable that so important a historic event or episode as the founding of a villa to be the capital of a province, should not have been reported in greatest detail to the authorities, as so many other minor events were reported, and the records preserved. It is only within the past few years, that many of these archives bearing on Southwestern history, have been rescued from oblivion by such research workers as Bolton, and have made certain, among other things, that it was not Oñate who actually founded Santa Fe but his successor Peralta. Necessarily, no one is more interested in laying bare the real facts than we ourselves and we should contribute something toward establishing the record of the founding of this Ancient City. Such an opportunity has come to us, to assist in sending to Spain our secretary, who is especially well fitted to continue in the archives of Seville the depository of the original and official records appertaining to Spanish America, the research work he has begun here. The School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, possibly with the co-operation of the University, plan to be represented at the American Exposition at Seville, Spain, in 1928. An American building is under construction on the Exposition grounds, in accordance with the plans by William Templeton Johnson of San Diego, well known in Santa Fe and for years affiliated with our work here and in California. It is to be a splendid and worthy building and we have been invited to send an exhibit and a representative. The sum to be allowed Mr. Bloom is meager and he consents to great material sacrifice in going. I would recommend earnestly our participation in sending him to Seville and suggest a grant of \$600 toward his expenses and \$300 additional on research expenses in Europe. In fact, I would urge an annual scholarship for research students in New Mexico history willing to go to the archives and great libraries in which are buried historical data of so great interest to us. It is our duty not

only to record history but to recover it where lost and to keep the facts straight.

EXHIBITION

The Society is true to its original objective, that of maintaining a historical museum. We are making progress toward a more scientific and orderly arrangement of our exhibits which are the admiration of every other historical society. With the aid of Secretary Bloom, Curator Woodruff and the staff of the School of American Research, the classification chronologically in the various rooms has progressed. Mr. K. M. Chapman of the Museum staff is assisting in the labeling, and Mrs. Van Stone, also of the School and Museum, in the library cataloguing. They are both members of our Society also. You will notice in the Pioneer room that the Santos have been displayed to greater advantage. We should use every available scientific method to prevent their going to pieces through age, and to restore as far as possible their fading colors. Expert advice is at hand of which we will avail ourselves during the coming year. Odd S. Halseth, until recently of the Museum and School staff, has compiled a guide and catalog of New Mexico Santos that is to be in print during the coming year. Through the fine spirit of co-operation of the director of the School of American Research and the Museum, Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, the memorials of the Great War have been transferred to the Historical rooms, where they have been placed with the other collections of weapons, the most important of which, the Borrowdale Collection, is also a loan of the School of American Research. The historic old *Sala* or Reception Room, has been restored to something of a semblance it bore centuries ago if the archives can be taken as a guide. These contain detailed descriptions bearing witness to the simplicity, and at times, to the dilapidation of this room, the most historic in all the land, barring none. It has been the scene of so many thrilling episodes,

of such far-reaching events, that its very austere-ness should stir the imagination of every intelligent visitor and the patriotism of every New Mexican. This room, too, has been added to the domain of the Historical Society, so that through the generosity of the Museum authorities in whose keeping the Palace has been placed by statute, the Historical Society now commands more space for strictly historical exhibits than ever before. Yet, much precious material cannot be exhibited because of lack of space.

The faithful and loyal services of our Curator, Mr. Henry Woodruff and Mrs. Woodruff, who are giving all of their time and effort for the small salary of \$75 a month, to the care of the exhibits and their display to the hosts of visitors, are deserving of more than mere passing mention. We read with something like astonishment that almost 30,000 visitors sought the Carlsbad Cave, one of the world's great natural wonders, during the current year, bringing new prosperity and wealth not only to Carlsbad but to the country round about so that only last week, two counties in Texas authorized the expenditure of huge sums to build and maintain a road that has no other objective than the Cave. Yet, if you will examine the register of the Historical Society for 1928, you will discover that making allowance for those who did not register, almost 50,000 people visited the Historical rooms, and that these people hailed not mainly from Texas but from all over the world. It is proposed that Congress appropriate \$200,000 for the improvement and exploitation of the Carlsbad Cavern, and public money can not be spent to better purpose—but it must be remembered also that the Historical Society manages on an annual appropriation of \$2000, making available to the world not only Southwestern history and historical objects, but also performing manifold other functions for the good of the commonwealth and humanity. Where the Carlsbad Cave has a staff of well-paid superintendents, guides and workmen for whom the Government

is building substantial modern homes, the Historical Society must do with one paid employe and his pay only \$900 a year.

But it is not only in the rooms of the Old Palace that historical exhibits appertaining to New Mexico are to be found. The entire State is such an exhibit and its many historic spots need but to be preserved and properly marked to arouse wide-spread interest. It was to be expected that the suggestion made by one of our members, E. Dana Johnson, that the landmarks associated with the "Lincoln County War" be given proper markers, should be taken up and commended by the press throughout the State. Placards are in preparation and will be printed and simply framed as time and means permit, to be placed in Lincoln county. The Daughters of the American Revolution have placed markers along the Santa Fe Trail beginning in the Plaza in Santa Fe and all the way to Raton Pass by way of the battle-fields of Apache Pass and Glorieta. We should not delay the placing of the bronze tablets on the Cross of the Martyrs in order to proclaim the names of the fifty-one Franciscan martyrs who gave their lives so that the Indians of the Southwest might have the Gospel. This matter is in the capable hands of Vice-President José D. Sena. The time is coming when we must be more energetic in helping to organize county and city historical societies to preserve local traditions and relics, to commemorate the deeds of pioneers, veterans and leaders. New Mexico is so rich in historical mementoes and memories that even New England cannot vie with it. Yet in most, if not all of the other states, there are local historical societies while the state societies are richly endowed. Such states as Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, are young as compared with New Mexico, and their history is comparatively meager, yet, their legislatures appropriate from \$20,000 to \$40,000 and upward annually for the work of their historical societies, and such states as Wisconsin have erected magnificent buildings at the Capital to house historical mementoes. Such local societies as that of the Northwest Reserve at

Cleveland, Ohio, have not only spacious buildings but also sums aggregating more than \$30,000 annually at their disposal and yet, find these inadequate to do all that might be accomplished but for lack of means and room. However, no structure, no matter how splendid or commodious, can compare with the Palace of the Governors, which in itself, in its present museum activities, is worth more to New Mexico and its people than would be the most ornate structure that money could provide. The Exposition at Seville, next year, offers an opportunity to proclaim to the world the riches of New Mexico especially in its Spanish American traditions.

PUBLICATION

The Historical Society is doing its full duty in the way of publication. What merit lies there in historical research and study if the results are not communicated to the people? The *New Mexico Historical Review* has set a standard which other societies and institutions are seeking to emulate, judging from the inquiries and comment received. The little folder distributed tonight gives a synopsis of the character of its contents and also of the other publications of the Society. It is due to the tirelessness and scholarship of our secretary that the *Historical Review* is so worthwhile. That the editorial work is done at no expense to the Society is our good fortune. We know of no instance in which a state historical magazine pays expenses and the *New Mexico Historical Review* has come nearer to it than most publications of that class. The more important papers in the Review have been issued as separates, taking the place formerly held by the Bulletins of the Society although the publication of these has not been discontinued entirely. The biography of the late Colonel José Francisco Chaves, for instance, has been published in Spanish, in Bulletin form, thanks to Hon. Frank W. Clancy and Hon. Amado Chaves. The live interest that the New Mexico press, and

even the Associated Press, are taking in our historical work is gratifying, and is due primarily to the sympathetic attitude of the *Santa Fe New Mexican* which has generously served as a clearing house for the news emanating from the Society and its workers.

EDUCATION

Historical writers of recent days, in Europe as well as in this country, take a gloomy view of the future of civilization. There is an impression created by them that another Dark Age is coming upon humanity. Harry Carr, a student of history and of military science, predicted seriously only a few days ago that the end is not far off and wrote:

Civilization comes and goes like the tides of the sea. The Cro-Magnons gave way to a people little better than animals. The Egyptians were replaced by wild marauding Arabs. The Mayan civilization sank before an ignorant Indian population. The high civilization of Greece and Rome went to sleep for a thousand years, years during which the light was kept burning by a few cloistered monks.

While we do not share such pessimism, yet, if anything can avert such catastrophe if it is on the way, it is an intelligent study by all people of the records of the past. It is a duty of the Historical Society to make easy of access these records not only through its own publications but also through its Library. The death recently of Dr. J. A. Munk in Los Angeles, a member of our Society and subscriber to the *Historical Review*, recalls that he gathered 20,000 volumes of Arizoniana and moved them to California because Arizona was too penurious and shortsighted to place at his disposal a suitable library building. The Munk library is now the much-prized possession of the Southwest Museum and the student of Arizona history must now perforce go to Los Angeles, in another State, to study the his-

tory of his own State. To the University of Arizona in Tucson or to the State Capital in Phoenix, that Library would prove a heritage increasing in intrinsic value with each passing year. New Mexico may be almost as shortsighted. Its Historical Society is crowded for room. Potential gifts to it are withheld because of the lack of space for displaying such manuscripts and maps as it possesses, and because the present rooms are not fire-proof. In our budget submitted to the last legislative assembly, a modest appropriation of \$10,000 was asked to build a wing to the east end of the Palace to complete the quadrangle enclosing the Patio but no appropriation was made. An appropriation of \$30,000 voted to the Museum for the purchase of the National Guard Armory would have given the needed building for library purposes but the exigencies of the situation led to a veto of the item, although the Museum is the only state institution that has not had a building appropriation during the past ten years, and no other building appropriation was vetoed. However, we are in hopes that the Governor, whose warm friendship for the Society and the Museum are manifested in many ways, will prepare the way so that the much needed new building or buildings will become a reality during the next two years. The School of American Research and Museum have turned over to us all of the historical volumes in their libraries and are ready to add their linguistic, art, archaeological and poetry libraries to our treasures as soon as proper facilities are provided. Together with the archives, files of magazines and newspapers, New Mexico would then have at least the beginnings for a library of New Mexicana comparable with that of the Munk Library. The Historical Society has been adding constantly, by gift and purchase, to its Library. It has had bound the files of daily newspapers as far as resources permitted and is preparing additional files for the binder. This too has been done by Secretary Bloom so that the old files are now available and are being used by students and authors. I need but mention one instance, that

of Miss Blanche Grant of Taos, who is writing a volume for early publication, "Santa Fe Today," which promises to be even more fascinating than her "Taos Today," and who is finding in the old files much material of interest for her book. We hope that during the coming year some progress will be made toward indexing the contents of the newspaper files. We have some offers of volunteer help and it may be as enjoyable as it would be profitable to have meetings in addition to the regular monthly sessions, at which all of those present, under proper guidance, would take a hand at indexing the periodicals. With a suitable library building, it would prove practicable to transfer the Museum Librarian to take charge of the consolidated libraries and make them much more valuable to students than at present.

Our Vice-President F. T. Cheetham succeeded in placing on the statute books by the last legislature, of which he was a member, a statute naming the Historical Society as the official custodian of the official documents and records of the State and of the counties. But, for the fulfillment of that purpose, a library building is also necessary. Much official material which cannot be replaced has been lost in the past because there was no official custodian of archives. Such invaluable records as those of military muster rolls were dug out of miscellaneous debris in the basement of the Capitol. The story of the scattering and burning of Spanish archives not so many years ago is but another instance of this kind.

The Society for the Preservation of Spanish Antiquities (a successor of the Society founded more than twenty years ago by earnest men and women affiliated with the Historical Society, under the leadership of the late Dr. L. Bradford Prince, ex-governor of the State) has offered to furnish several period rooms for the Museum and the Historical Society. Here again the lack of room compels us to wait in accepting the fine and generous offer until the

legislature, or some public-spirited philanthropist, enables us to build the proposed eastern wing to the Palace or to acquire the National Guard Armory. Perhaps if the room in which the valuable and valued exhibits of pottery are now to be found could be assigned to the library, then a beginning could be made toward furnishing one of the proposed period rooms in addition to the Sala, already restored to its ancient appearance. Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, director of the Museum, is at present considering a plan to transform the Library in the Art Museum into an Indian art room in which the choicest specimens of the Indian Pottery Fund could be exhibited and rotated so that during the year there would be a succession of new exhibits each month, if the riches of the Indian Pottery Fund and other ethnological collections, together with those gathered by the Museum and its staff, are made available. This would mean the consolidation of the Museum libraries in the Old Palace in very crowded quarters for the time being until additional buildings are acquired.

Other data regarding the activities of the Society and what I conceive should be its plans and methods in the future, may be found in my report to Governor Dillon at the beginning of this year, in which I said that the Society "has prospered in its endeavors for the preservation of historical records and objects, in enlisting the interest of the public far and wide, in publishing the results of its historical research, in teaching history and inculcating patriotism. Its work has reached out to every portion of the State and at the same time it is building up a treasure house of inestimable value for the present and future generations. Every commonwealth deems it a public duty and takes justifiable pride in preserving its historical records, some of them expending many times as much as New Mexico can afford, in order to maintain historical museums and societies. Yet no other commonwealth has such a wealth of historical material, so splendid and continuous a history, or so glorious a record of achievement. In its historical

landmarks, in its history, New Mexico has an asset that is being capitalized to a greater extent with each year, and today brings into the State thousands of visitors, untold treasure, and has centered the attention of the world on this commonwealth, its people and its resources."

I am cognizant of the high honor conferred upon me and the responsibilities it involves, when you re-elected me to preside for another biennium. May I have your help in making the Society of the greatest service possible to the people of the Commonwealth and to Humanity in general?

PAUL A. F. WALTER, president

Santa Fe, N. M.,

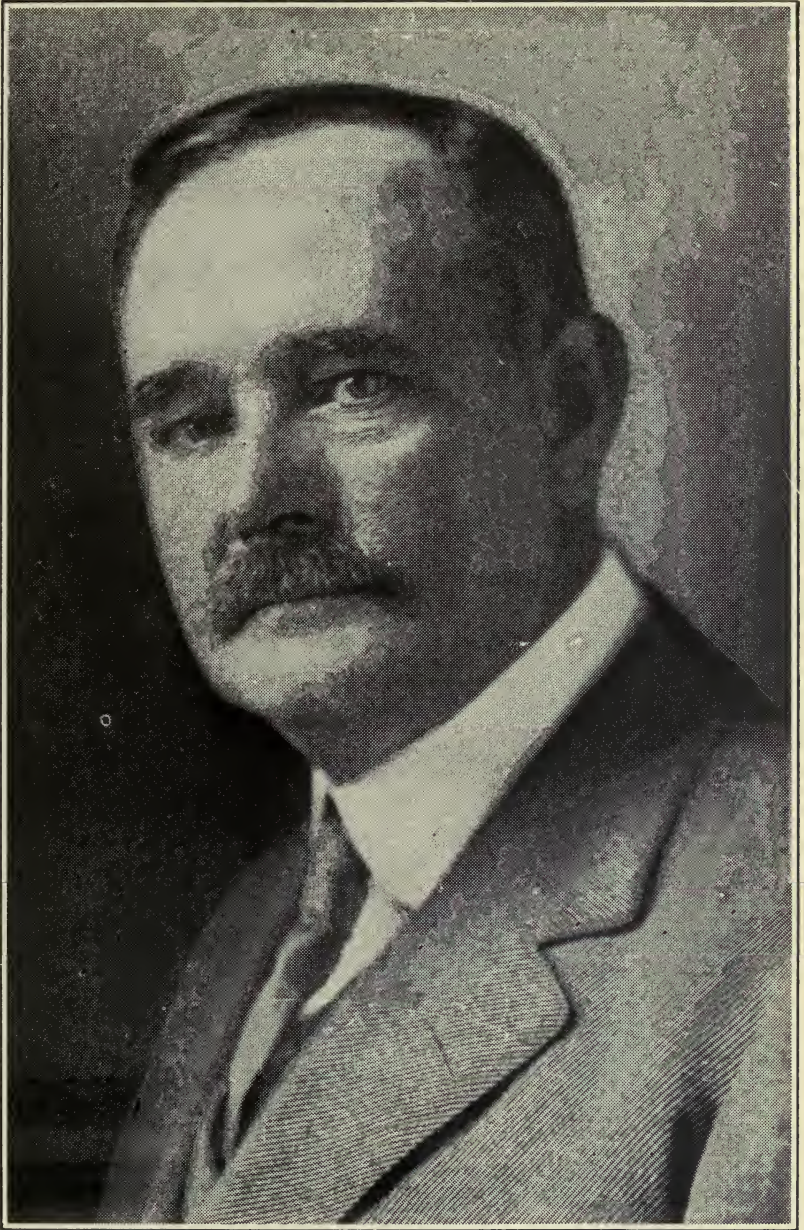
December 20, 1927.

NECROLOGY

ANDRIEUS ARISTIEUS JONES

Death came to Andrieus Aristieus Jones, senior United States senator from New Mexico, in the evening hours of December 20, 1927, in his apartments at Washington, D. C. Although he had been in failing health for years, and had been suffering from a heavy cold for two weeks or more, the end was unexpectedly sudden, and was the result of a recurrent attack of heart weakness.

Prominent in national affairs for twenty years and more, the death of Senator Jones changed the political complexion of the senate. A Southerner by birth, he was a stalwart democrat. Born in Union City, Tennessee, the son of a Presbyterian minister, to which faith he clung until late in life, he received a common school education in his native town. His father was the Rev. James W. Jones and his mother Hester A. A. (May) Jones. After college training at Bethel College, Mc Kenzie, Tennessee, Senator Jones matriculated in the University of Valparaiso, Indiana, and there obtained the B. S. degree and, a year later, the degree of B. A. He taught school for two years in Tennessee and read law before coming to New Mexico in 1885. He accepted the principalship of the public schools in East Las Vegas in 1885 and served until 1887. The following year he was admitted to the New Mexico bar and in 1894 to the bar of the United States Supreme Court. As a member of the law firm of Jones & Rogers, he soon won recognition as an able pleader and was elected president of the New Mexico Bar Association in 1893. As a member of the firm of Hicks and Jones, he was engaged in the cattle business and acquired the extensive land holdings in Guadalupe and San Miguel counties which included the Preston



ANDRIEUS ARISTIEUS JONES

Beck grant. He was president of the Douglas Avenue Building Company, the Cuervo Town Company, vice-president of the Investment and Agency Corporation, director of the First National Bank of East Las Vegas, and was interested in other business enterprises, in time accumulating a financial competency.

The first important political office held by Senator Jones was that of mayor of East Las Vegas in 1893. He was special United States district attorney from 1894 to 1896; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1896 which nominated William Jennings Bryan to the presidency; chairman of the New Mexico Democratic Committee 1906 and 1908 and also chairman during the first statehood election, when the democrats elected William C. McDonald as the first governor of the State. This victory gave him a strategic position politically which eventually led to the United States Senate. The first State legislature was republican, and the democrats cast their minority vote for him, the majority electing Thomas B. Catron and Albert B. Fall to the Senate. In 1912, Senator Jones became a member of the Democratic National Committee and served to 1920 when he was succeeded by Arthur Seligman, a close personal friend for decades. In 1924, he was chairman of the Democratic Senatorial campaign committee and director of organization of the National Democratic Committee. Appointed First Assistant Secretary of the Interior in 1913, he served until 1916, when he resigned to make the race for United States senator from New Mexico. He was elected by more than 3000 plurality over Frank A. Hubbell, republican, and re-elected by more than 12,000 majority in 1922, over Stephen B. Davis republican, who later attained prominence in national affairs. It seemed quite certain that Senator Jones, had he lived, would have been tendered a third nomination by his party in 1928, and such was the esteem to which he had grown in New Mexico, that his re-election seemed a foregone conclusion.

While an able lawyer and a successful businessman, Senator Jones won his chief distinction in the field of politics and statesmanship. As Assistant Secretary of the Interior, he gave special attention to public land and irrigation matters. He practically reorganized the business methods of the General Land Office and did much to further the construction of federal irrigation projects. A staunch supporter of President Woodrow Wilson, he was one of the inner council during the Great War. However, as his party was always in the minority in the Senate during his service, his name is not attached to much important legislation although the result of his research and study, in the fields of finance, abroad as well as at home, made his counsel much sought by leaders of both parties. Always a scholarly student, an omnivorous reader, he expressed belief in ideas of finance, taxation and government, that seemed almost revolutionary to the conservative element. He was known to be an ardent advocate of a general sales tax as a means of raising national revenues, and had formulated plans for a national guaranty of bank deposits act. Senator Jones was an agreeable campaign speaker who won his auditors by persuasion rather than by dramatic flights of oratory. His last public speech in Santa Fe was that at the unveiling at the Art Museum of the bust of the late Frank Springer, with whom he maintained a close bond of friendship for forty years.

Senator Jones was a sociable man. His many gentle, lovable qualities made him a host of friends wherever he went, friends who in private intercourse with him learned to admire and esteem him. He enjoyed sitting up into the late hours of the night discussing foreign and national financial affairs with those interested. His voice and manner were sympathetic and convincing, and he had always at his command a mass of official statistics and other data with which to fortify his viewpoints. He had been a most useful member of the Senate Committees on Finance, Appropriations, Education and Labor, and Public Lands and

Surveys. Bitterly attacked during his campaigns he did not resort to personal villification although deeply hurt and met attacks on his private character with dignified silence. Senator Jones was a 32d degree Mason, an Elk, a member of the New Mexico Historical Society, and of the Cosmos and Chevy Chase Clubs at Washington, D. C.

Senator Jones was preceded to his grave by his first wife, and one son. His second wife, *nee* Natalie Stoneroad, whom he married at Las Vegas on August 7, 1902, survives him. She too took deep interest in politics and national affairs and held positions of responsibility in the Democratic national organization. Two sons survive, one by his first marriage, Vincent K. Jones, a civil engineer of Denver, and the other by the surviving widow, Andrieus A. Jones, Jr., a student at Princeton.

The funeral gave opportunity to nation and state to express the high esteem in which Senator Jones was held, irrespective of party lines and past feuds. A congressional delegation accompanied the remains from the national capital to East Las Vegas. The delegation occupied a special car as did the relatives of the deceased. At East Las Vegas, officials and former officials of the State in large numbers had gathered. Flags were at half mast and the populace of the city in general turned out for the obsequies. After lying in state, services were held by Bishop F. B. Howden in the Episcopal church which was much too small, however, to hold the throngs which had come to pay their last respects to their neighbor and friend. At the Masonic Cemetery, Grand Master John S. Mactavish of Magdalena conducted the Masonic services. A uniformed military guard of honor accompanied the casket from the time of its arrival early Wednesday morning, December 28, until interment in the cemetery, toward evening.

The congressional committee included: Senators: Sam G. Bratton, New Mexico; G. B. Walsh, Montana; Joe T. Robinson, Arkansas; John B. Kendrick, Wyoming; Kay Pittman, Nevada; Wesley L. Jones, Washington and W. B.

Pine, Oklahoma. Congressmen: John Morrow, New Mexico; Allen T. Treadway, Massachusetts; E. B. Howard, Oklahoma; Quinn Williams, Texas; U. S. Geyer, Kansas; Charles E. Winter, Wyoming; Edgar Howard and Willis G. Sears, Nebraska.

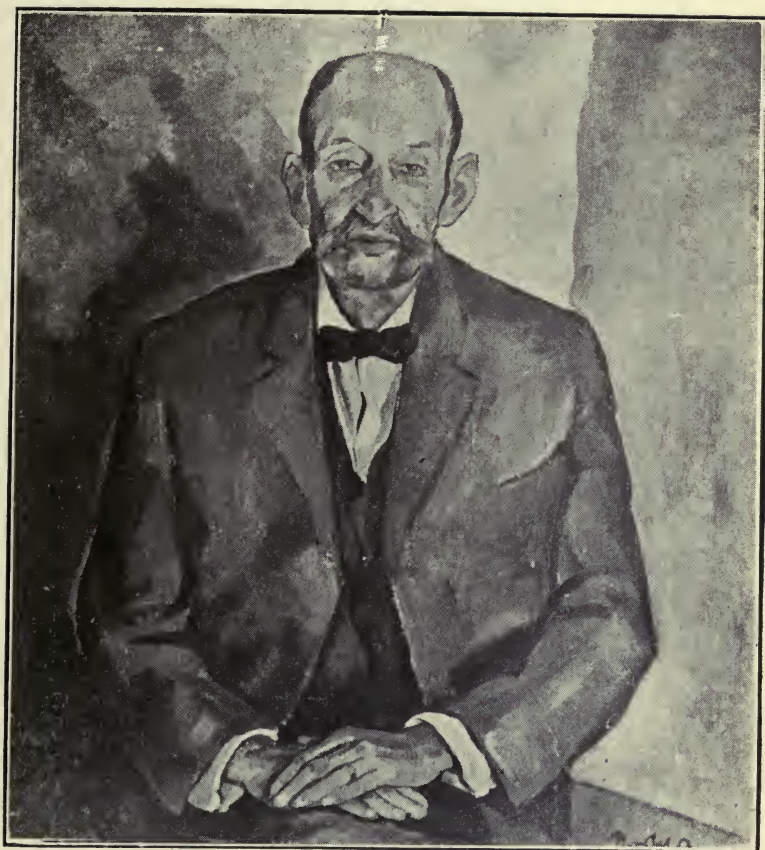
More than 100 honorary pall-bearers were named. The active pall-bearers were Senator Sam G. Bratton, Neil B. Field, Summers Burkhart and R. H. Hanna, Albuquerque; Congressman John Morrow, Raton; Arthur Seligman, former Gov. M. A. Otero, Santa Fe; former Gov. James F. Hinkle, Roswell, A. T. Rogers, Jr., Harry W. Kelly, William G. Hayden and George H. Hunker, Las Vegas.

Memorial meetings in Washington, D. C., as well as in New Mexico, resolutions and eulogies, sought to express something of the feeling of esteem in which the deceased was held.

On the day after the funeral, Governor R. C. Dillon, appointed as successor to Senator Jones, Colonel Bronson M. Cutting, a Roosevelt Republican, publisher of the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, a director of the First National bank in that city, a life member of the New Mexico Historical Society, a member of the New York Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, a veteran of the Great War, and deeply interested in political movements in New Mexico during the past fifteen years and more.—P. A. F. W.

ABE SPIEGELBERG

Almost three-quarters of a century a resident of Santa Fe, Abraham Fillmore Spiegelberg, believed to have been one of the oldest of the pioneer merchants of New Mexico, died at his rooms on Palace avenue in Santa Fe about 5:30 P.M. on the twenty-third of December, 1927. Funeral services were held at the Scottish Rite Cathedral in Santa Fe on December twenty-seven and the remains were taken east for burial in New York. He is survived by a younger brother, Willi Spiegelberg of New York, and three



Painting by B. J. O. Nordfeldt

ABE F. SPIEGELBERG

nieces, Mrs. Harry Smith of Las Vegas, N. M., Mrs. I. Bacharach, of Jerome, Ariz., and Mrs. Simon Bacharach of Phoenix, Ariz.

Born in New York in 1848, son of the late Solomon Spiegelberg, one of the early Santa Fe traders and merchandisers, Abe Spiegelberg, came to Santa Fe with his father when only nine or ten years old; later he was sent back east to be educated, and returned to become a traveling salesman for Spiegelberg Brothers, general merchants. He remained a merchant and trader all of his life until his retirement from active business in his later years. He assembled one of the finest collections of Navajo and other Indian and native blankets and rugs in the Southwest, which was sold to the Fred Harvey company and is kept intact at Albuquerque. He became recognized as the premier expert authority on such fabrics in New Mexico. He was well known for his strict honesty in handling curios, and those now in the business testify that he put it on a sound and stable basis by insisting that neither the origin, age nor workmanship of any specimen of curios or handicraft should ever be misrepresented to a customer.

"Abe" as he was familiarly known to hundreds of friends both old and young in Santa Fe, had many picturesque and thrilling experiences in the fifties, sixties and seventies in New Mexico. He frequently would relate the story of how, when he first arrived in Santa Fe as a small boy, he was terrified by the grisly sight of three or four corpses hanging from a tree about where the Old Federal Building now stands; they were alleged horsethieves who had been hanged by "Judge Lynch."

One of his most diverting reminiscences was regarding a gorgeous gilded circus wagon, left in Santa Fe by a traveling circus, which Spiegelberg Brothers purchased and placed in charge of Abe as their field representative. Its interior remodeled to transport a full stock of dry-goods, clothing, hats, caps, bacon, ham, jewelry, watches, shoes, rifles, pistols, powder and bullets, this "golden chariot" of

merchandise, which heliographed word of its coming for miles across the mesas when the sun was reflected from its mirrors and gilding, drew great crowds of Indians and natives everywhere it went, and gave a big boost to business.

Abe also told of a certain occasion when he was traveling in his gilded commercial palace on wheels over the Chihuahua Trail from Santa Fe into Mexico, accompanied by the late Albert Grunsfeld, father of the Grunsfeld brothers of Albuquerque, and their road took them through a lonely canyon in the Apache country where they came upon a heap of human skulls, whose deceased owners were victims of a massacre. Abe's story was that his companion fell upon his knees and prayed God to spare his life, vowing that if he escaped he would never undertake another trip through such a savage and perilous region. However the massive, rumbling "golden chariot" carried them safely to Chihuahua and back and it is quite possible the vehicle was regarded with superstitious awe by the Indians, as one fit to bring back Montezuma.

One of Abe's most treasured possessions, in the little suite of rooms in the old adobe building where he spent his last years, was an Indian bow and arrows for which he traded a can of coffee on his first trip across the plains to Santa Fe. He also kept and valued most highly a Navajo blanket which he acquired in the year 1874. One of his rooms was lined with paintings given him by various artists of the Santa Fe Group, with several portraits of himself, including an especially fine half-length canvas done by B. J. O. Nordfeldt. Abe was always a prime favorite not only with the artists, but with students of history, archaeology and especially those interested in Indian, Mexican and Spanish-Colonial handicraft. Despite his advancing years, he remained active, genial and cordial, and in full possession of his faculties with the exception of his deafness, until the very day of his death.

One of Abe's most distinct memories was that of the

time, during the period of mobilization by the government of the Navajo Indians for settlement on the Bosque Redondo reservation, when he accompanied his father to Fort Wingate, where thousands of the Indians were assembled, spending most of their time in gambling with the rations given them by Uncle Sam. Abe often referred humorously to his own gambling days, admitting that he earned the reputation of being one of the most accomplished poker players in Santa Fe, at that period when gambling was the universal diversion.

Spiegelberg occasionally varied his business as a merchant by a flyer in mining promotion.

The tribute of Julius Gans of Santa Fe to Mr. Spiegelberg is one that expresses the sentiments of large numbers of people who mourn his passing: "He was a square shooter and one of the few really good friends that one sometimes finds in a lifetime."

Abe Spiegelberg was never married. He was a past master of Montezuma Lodge No. 1. A. F. and A. M., and a 32° K. C. C. H. of the Scottish Rite bodies in Santa Fe.
E. D. J.

EDWARD C. WADE

Edward C. Wade, for almost half a century a resident of the Southwest, died at his home in Las Cruces, on Thursday, October 13, 1927, at the age of 72 years. At work until the day of his departure, he had just finished two hours of dictation, when the fatal heart seizure came and removed from his sphere of activity an able attorney and good citizen.

Edward C. Wade was born at Ervington, South Carolina, January 8, 1855, being named after his father. Soon after his family moved to Georgia, where he attended school. At the age of 12, he was sent to England, where he spent five years in a private school on the Isle of Man. There he acquired the habits of a student and a thinker, laying

the foundations for that broad culture which marked his career and made him an inveterate reader and seeker after knowledge even outside of his profession. Upon his return to the United States he attended the National Law University of Washington, D. C., receiving his sheepskin from the hands of President U. S. Grant, honorary chancellor of the University.

Mr. Wade went west soon after graduation, locating at El Paso, but went to Las Cruces shortly afterward, arriving in 1881 with the first Santa Fe train into that town becoming the Nestor of the Bar in Doña Ana county. Twice he served as district attorney conducting some notable trials, but it was as counsellor to most of the families in the Mesilla Valley that he won the high regard in which he was held. He was elected mayor of Las Cruces and held other positions of trust and honor. Mr. Wade was an occasional visitor to Santa Fe and was attorney in important cases before the territorial and state supreme as well as the federal courts. A gentleman of culture, correct in his habits, kindly and quiet in his demeanor, he was esteemed by bar and bench.

Mr. Wade was married to Hattie B. Wilson, at Washington, D. C., who survives him, together with three children, Edward C. Wade, a wellknown successful attorney of El Paso but also a member of the New Mexico Bar, a legal writer and former resident of Santa Fe, Wilson R. Wade of Santa Monica, Calif., and Mrs. L. R. Stablein of El Paso.

Rev. Floyd Poe of the First Presbyterian Church of El Paso pronounced an eloquent eulogy at the funeral, which took place at Las Cruces on October 15. Interment was in the Masonic Cemetery, the pall bearers being Numa C. Frenger, Judge Edwin C. Mecham, Mayor A. I. Kelso, J. H. Paxton, R. P. Porter and Col. M. C. O'Hara. Mrs. Alice Branigan sang Mr. Wade's favorite hymn: "Face to Face."

P. A. F. W.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

- 1859 — Col. John B. Grayson, U. S. A.
1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict
-

- 1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch
1883 — Hon. L. Bradford Prince
1923 — Hon. Frank W. Clancy
1925 — Col. Ralph E. Twitchell
1926 — Paul A. F. Walter

OFFICERS for 1928-1929

Paul A. F. Walter, president
Francis T. Cheetham, vice-pres. Lansing B. Bloom, cor. sec'y-treas.
Col. José D. Sena, vice-pres. Mrs. Reed Holloman, recording sec'y
Henry Woodruff, museum curator

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Ralph P. Bieber	Charles W. Hackett
William C. Binkley	Edgar L. Hewett
Lansing B. Bloom	Frederick W. Hodge
Herbert E. Bolton	Alfred V. Kidder
Charles F. Coan	J. Lloyd Mecham
Aurelio M. Espinosa	Paul A. F. Walter
George P. Hammond	

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended Dec. 15, 1925)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of twenty-five dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have by published work contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers:

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election,

and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Each Member, upon election, shall pay a fee of two dollars, which shall include the dues for the current calendar year and annually thereafter a fee of \$1.00 payable in January of each calendar year. Members may be dropped from the rolls of the Society at the discretion of the Executive Council for non-payment of dues.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publication of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at Eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Bulletins, as published, are mailed to members; subscription to the *Review* is additional.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex.



LT. LEW WALLACE SPRINGER
Killed in Aeroplane Crash at Toluca, Mexico, March 27, 1928

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 2.

GERONIMO*

(continued)

BY JOHN P. CLUM

As we progress with this narrative of Geronimo's extraordinadry career it is well to remind ourselves that in those rare, old days of 1874, '75 '76 and '77, the history of Arizona for that eventful period was, to a great extent, *recorded in the dramatic story of the Apaches*. To the casual reader this may seem an extravagant statement, particularly in view of the convincing data Arizona is now able to exhibit relative to her population, products, resources, and general industrial, social, political and educational development. But in this picture we are looking at Arizona — THE POWERFUL STATE. Perhaps you will bear with me in an endeavor to visualize Arizona — THE STRUGGLING TERRITORY.

If we turn back the pages of history a half-century or more to the period of our national centennial, we find there were no railroads in either Arizona or New Mexico. A military telegraph line (a single wire) was stretched from San Diego to Santa Fé, with local offices at Yuma, Prescott, Phoenix, Tucson, Fort Grant, and Fort Bowie. There was a daily service (each way) on the southern

* Copy right — 1928.

overland stage route for the transportation of passengers, mail and express between El Paso and San Diego., via Silver City. Apache Pass, Tucson, and Yuma, the unit of equipment for this service was a light coach with two seats inside, and one outside, and drawn by two horses. The telephone had not yet come into public service; there was no telegraphic communication at San Carlos; we received our agency mail once each week — provided we sent a messenger eighty miles to the nearest post office for it, and it was several hundred miles from the agency *to the depot* at the end of the west-bound railroad tracks in Colorado. Few ranches or ranges for stock had yet been located, and the mining industry was still in its swaddling clothes. Truly, in that period, Arizona was a STRUGGLING TERRITORY — a remote, isolated almost “exclusive” frontier.

And now what are the brief outlines of the story of the Apaches on this “remote frontier” during the centennial period? The several subdivisions of this tribe roamed from 400 to 500 miles east and west over the territory between the Rio Verde in central Arizona and the Rio Grande valley in New Mexico, and upwards of 300 miles north and south from the Mogollon mountains in Arizona to the Sierra Madre mountains of Mexico. As already set forth in this narrative, these Indians were numerically distributed among five reservations as follows: at Rio Verde — 1400, at San Carlos — 1000, at Camp Apache — 1800, at Apache Pass — 325, and at Ojo Caliente (N. M.) — 453. Between August, 1874, and July, 1877, under orders from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I was charged with the concentration of these Apaches (approximately 5000) on the San Carlos reservation, and in an orderly and peaceable manner these were located in the Gila valley convenient to the agency headquarters at San Carlos. In the course of the execution of these orders I relieved seven Indian agents and consolidated five agencies into one. The reservations at Rio Verde and Apache Pass, Arizona, and Ojo Caliente, N. M., reverted to the public

domain and those areas were opened up for the location of mines, ranches, and stock ranges. During this period no outbreak occurred among the Indians under my care, and no raiding parties were trailed to or from my reservation, but, on the contrary, an entire company of TERRITORIAL MILITIA was recruited from the Indians on this reservation FOR ACTIVE SERVICE AGAINST RENEGADES. The Indian Police had apprehended Del-shay and killed Dis-alin at San Carlos; arrested Pi-on-se-nay at Apache Pass and captured Geronimo at Ojo Caliente (N. M.), and it had come to be regarded as the *regular business* of the San Carlos Apache Indian Police Force to preserve order within the limits of their own reservation, as well as to apprehend (or kill) insubordinate or desperate members of their own race *wherever found*, and it was generally recognized that they performed these highly important services promptly and effectively — regardless of hardship or hazard — *not as a spectacular publicity stunt*, but as “a part of the day’s work.”

This record of continuous and successful activities in Indian affairs of vital importance to this “remote frontier” amply supports the claim that “the history of Arizona for that eventful period was, to a great extent, recorded in the dramatic story of the Apaches.”

From the latter part of 1877 to the latter part of 1886 Geronimo was permitted to *enjoy* a truly remarkable career. During this period he alternated in his dual role of ruthless renegade and privileged prisoner of war. His movements, translated into spectacular, dramatic, or picturesque form, were given the widest publicity by those whose business it was to restrain and suppress him, until his name became the synonym for swift and skillful maneuvers and daring and deadly deeds, and even from the time of his final surrender to the day of his death he appears to have been encouraged and assisted in the gratification of his inordinate vanity by persistently keeping himself in the spotlight of publicity. Doubtless the reader will feel as I do,

that the favors extended to Geronimo, both as a renegade and as a prisoner of war, are absolutely inexplicable.

When the sheriff of Pima county was informed that Geronimo was in the guard-house at San Carlos awaiting his warrant it was expected that prompt action would be taken by that official for the reason that the sheriff was none other than Chas A. Shibbell — from whom the murderer Pi-on-si-nay had escaped a year previous — June, 1876. In these circumstances it was thought that Sheriff Shibbell would evince a keen desire to take over the custody of Geronimo with the least possible delay — but, as stated before, no action was taken.

Inevitably it will be asked why I abandoned my purpose to have this Indian prosecuted? The details are interesting, but too cumbersome for entry here. Briefly stated, the officials of my own department at Washington — instead of giving me the *unwavering support that had been pledged*, had, during my absence in New Mexico, acquiesced in the development of certain conditions at San Carlos that made my position as agent untenable. I felt that my success had actually been *penalized*. Responding to my protest, those officials were *good enough to explain*, but *too weak to rescind*. I finally set July 1st as the limit of my endurance. The offending situation was not remedied; therefore, at high noon on July 1, 1877, I mounted my favorite horse and hit the trail for Tucson, leaving the Indians and the affairs of the agency in charge of my chief clerk and Indian Inspector Vandever. Thirty-five years elapsed before I again returned to San Carlos.

The failure to prosecute Geronimo at this time was, doubtless, one of the very unfortunate results of my abrupt separation from the Indian service. The successful campaign into New Mexico had involved no little effort and expense. The particular outlaw sought had been apprehended. He was conveyed 500 miles in irons. The charges against the prisoner were of a most serious nature and the evidence seemed ample. Had I remained in authority at

San Carlos there is not the least doubt in my mind that he would have been speedily brought to trial in the United States courts, and that his career would have ended abruptly then and there. What a vast amount of expense, tribulation, distress, and bloodshed would have been avoided if this arrest had been followed swiftly by prosecution, conviction, and execution — thus dropping the name of GERONIMO into oblivion before it had become generally notorious outside of territorial frontier limits.

Thus terminated my official contact with this noted renegade, and the only time I ever saw Geronimo after leaving San Carlos was when I visited Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, in January, 1894, where he was then detained as a "prisoner of war." Who cut the rivets that held his shackles and released him from the guard house at San Carlos I do not know. It is evident, however, that he made the most of his freedom, for he soon left the reservation for the familiar peaks and canyons of the Sierra Madres of Mexico, and his next appearance in this story is the occasion of his surrender to the commanding officer of Camp John A. Rucker, in 1879.

Lieutenant Henley, who followed the trail of Pi-onse-nay in 1876 and who reported the presence of Geronimo on the Rio Grande in 1877, met his death in 1878 while scouting in the mountains adjacent to Apache Pass. His dauntless courage led him to attempt to ford a raging mountain torrent, but before he was halfway across he was swept from his horse by the angry flood. His companion, Lieut. John Anthony Rucker, dashed into the seething waters and made an heroic effort to rescue Henley, but both were drowned. About this time the military authorities decided to establish a temporary outpost near the Mexican border to facilitate operations against the hostiles, and this post was named in honor of Lieutenant Rucker, who sacrificed his own life in a futile effort to save the life of his friend. "Tony" Rucker, as he was af-

fectionately called by his intimates, was a brother-in-law of General Phil Sheridan.

One day in the latter part of 1879 Geronimo appeared at Camp John A. Rucker and surrendered to Captain Haskell, the commanding officer. He was held for a short time at that camp and then transferred to the custody of the Indian agent at San Carlos. No penalty was imposed on the renegade at that time other than a temporary confinement in the guard house.

Insofar as the records show, Geronimo was allowed absolute freedom and, in an inconspicuous manner, contented himself with reservation life until the fall of 1881, when he again fled into Mexico with a large band of men, women and children, *including Nah-Chee, the only surviving son of Cochise*. Geronimo never pleaded special justification for any of his outbreaks except his boasted slaughter of Mexicans, but when the loyal son of Chochise turned his back on the pale-face and joined his fortunes with those of the renegades, existing conditions on the reservation must have been of a most aggravating character. I entertained a very high regard for Nah-chee and I feel that it is only just and fair to him that there should be recorded in this story some of the outstanding causes which finally drove him from the reservation.

When I removed the Coyoteris from Camp Apache in 1875, eight of the bands selected a location on the Gila River about 20 miles east of the reservation headquarters at San Carlos. There I established a sub-agency, constructed necessary buildings, and placed an employe by the name of Ezra Hoag in charge. In June, 1876, when the Chiricahuas were brought to the San Carlos reservation, they chose a camping ground near the locality where these Coyoteris were living, and obtained their rations at the sub-agency. Thus the Chiricahuas and a part of the Coyoteris were living there in a neighborly and friendly fashion. Included with the Coyoteris at the sub-agency were the bands of the sub-chiefs "George" and "Bonito." The military post of

Camp Thomas was located in the Gila Valley about fifteen miles above the sub-agency, and outside of the reservation limits. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind in order to understand fully the very important events which transpired in this locality during the last days of September, 1881.

The flight of Nah-chee with a band of his relatives and friends from their camping grounds near the sub-agency on the Gila River on the night of September 30, 1881, was one of the very unfortunate sequences of the so-called "Cibicu War," although Nah-chee had no more to do with the Cibicu War than he had with the Custer fight.

Reducing the story of the Cibicu episode to its lowest terms, it may be stated that the Cibicu is a small stream on the reservation about 45 miles north of the Gila River. Early in 1881 "Nock-e-da-kinny," a Coyotero Apache medicine-man, who was camped on the Cibicu, announced a "resurrection stunt," which was destined to plunge the entire reservation into a condition of unrest, apprehension and disorder, the dire results of which were manifested throughout the following decade.

This ignorant, fanatical, old hoodoo-medicine-man proclaimed that it was his modest purpose to summon from their graves all of the most powerful Apache warriors who had fallen victims to the remorseless sickle of the Grim Reaper during recent years, and with this resurrected army to exterminate every pale-face in Arizona and then rush on to a conquest of the world — or words to that effect.

These preachments not only excited a contingent of the Coyoteros but, apparently, *thoroughly frightened the civil authorities at the agency*, for, instead of sending the San Carlos police to bring in this ranting old trouble-maker, dead or alive, *the agent requested the commanding officer at Camp Apache to make the arrest with his troops. For seven years the agency police had apprehended all offenders and maintained order on the reservation in a most efficient manner. Why bring in the military now?* The fatal blun-

der was made by the agent and upon his head rests the responsibility for the disastrous results.

Complying with the request of the agent, Colonel Carr arrived at the Cibicu camp on August 30th accompanied by six officers, seventy-nine soldiers, and twenty-three Indian scouts and proceeded to make the arrest. Nock-e-da-kinny was arrested, but very soon thereafter the troops were fired upon (by their own Indian scouts it was alleged) and Capt. E. C. Hentig and four soldiers were killed and five others wounded — three of whom died from their wounds. During the excitement Nock-e-da-kinny made an attempt to escape and was promptly shot through the head by Colonel Carr's trumpeter — a very handy man to have about camp in an emergency, for he proved that he was equally skillful in blowing the bugle, or in blowing out the brains of an outlawed Apache medicine-man.

The killing of Nock-e-da-kinny was a consummation greatly to be desired, but, although the old trouble maker was dead, a much more serious trouble found its beginning in the means employed to accomplish his death. *If this fight had occurred with the agency police it would have been merely a local administrative affair, as a fight with police anywhere is. But the army had been called in to perform police duty on the reservation and an officer and seven soldiers were killed. This was an "outbreak" for which all the Indians on the reservation must pay the penalty either directly or indirectly — which they did through the years that followed.*

There was race between the troops and the Indians from the Cibicu to Fort Apache. Some shots were fired into that post by the disaffected Indians. The "war" was on. Additional troops were rushed in from California and Colorado. Some even said that the Apaches were to be *exterminated*.

The month of September, 1881, was one of persistent excitement and apprehension throughout the reservation. Bodies of troops were moving hither and yon and numer-

ous arrests were made. This marching and counter-marching seemed to the Apaches like "boots, boots, boots, boots moving up and down again" — *it got on their nerves.*

It will be remembered that the Coyotero sub-chiefs "George" and "Bonito" had their camps near the sub-agency, and now the military authorities charged that these Indians had been implicated in the Ciribu affair. Both of these Indians went to the sub-agency *on September 25th and, accompanied by Mr. Hoag, they proceeded at once to Camp Thomas and there surrendered to General Wilcox, the department commander, who released them on parole.*

And now follows the last scene in this great drama of sorry blunders that was destined finally to drive the loyal Nah-chee from the reservation and enroll him henceforth with Geronimo's band of desperate renegades. On the afternoon of September 30, 1881, *only five days after General Wilcox had paroled George and Bonito,* Col. Biddle came down from Camp Thomas with three companies of cavalry to the sub-agency for the purpose of taking "George and Bonito and their bands" to Camp Thomas. Mr. Hoag was then issuing rations and many Indians were about the sub-agency. George and Bonito told Colonel Biddle they would come to Camp Thomas with Mr. Hoag as soon as the issue of rations was completed. This proposition Colonel Biddle refused and *moved his troops nearer the Indian camps.* George and Bonito then fled to the Chiricahua camp and told Geronimo and Nah-chee that the troops were there to attack them. All the warlike demonstrations during the past month had seemed to them a constant menace, and now a strong detachment of troops was at the very threshold of their rude camps threatening an attack. Fearing the attack would be made at daybreak, they fled during the night — *"leaving much of their stock behind."*

Indian Commissioner Price comments on this stampede thus: "Their flight was occasioned by fear, not hostility." An official report quotes Mr. Hoag as saying: "The Indians were literally scared away by this movement of the

troops." As the sole employe in charge of the sub-agency, Mr. Hoag had been dealing with these Indians for more than five years and had their confidence, and I firmly believe he told the simple truth when he said they were frightened away. The fact that they left much of their stock behind is ample evidence that their stampede at that time was not premeditated.

Had Geronimo gone out with some of his old-time followers it easily might be thought that this wily desperado had been *waiting for an excuse* to take the warpath again, and that *he was glad* to be "scared away." *But this never could be said of Nah-chee*, Cochise's son. In 1874 he promised his dying father he would keep the treaty of peace made with General Howard; in defense of that promise on the night of June 4, 1876, he engaged in mortal combat with his father's head war-chief, — and killed Skin-yea; for more than five years he had remained at the sub-agency, loyal and dependable, and when he led his little band of relatives and friends to cast their lot with the renegades under Geronimo *there must have been a sufficient reason* — a super-inciting cause.

The record compels the conclusion that Nah-chee, the stalwart and capable son of Cochise, faithfully observed the pledge he made his dying father for *more than seven years*, and that he was finally driven to violate his father's treaty of peace with the pale-face only when he firmly believed that he and his followers *were about to be shot down by the pale-face troops*. Nah-chee was a man of determination, strength and courage. Having broken his father's treaty and joined Geronimo, he rendered to his chief a most loyal and effective support and shared the fortunes of his fellow renegades to the end. Geronimo recognized the superior qualities of Nah-chee and made him his chief lieutenant. Thus we find that the story of "Nah-chee, the renegade," dates from that eventful night of September 30, 1881.

THE SCOUT FROM TOMBSTONE

The morning of October 2, 1881, dawned bright and peaceful over the famous city of Tombstone where, at that time, I had my domicile. About ten o'clock in the forenoon a courier dashed into town and announced that Geronimo and his band of fleeing renegades, estimated at three or four hundred, had passed along the western base of the Dragoon Mountains about an hour previously, headed for the Mexican line.

The trail of the renegades lay about ten miles east of Tombstone, and it was evident that these Indians would cross over Antelope Pass to the Sulphur Springs Valley. The citizens of Tombstone, of course, were in no danger, but we feared for the safety of the isolated cattle-men in the Sulphur Springs Valley, as well as for solitary prospectors and others who might be in the mountains or along the trails — and immediately a relief party was proposed.

In view of my former experience with the Apaches, and the further fact that I was then the mayor of Tombstone, I was charged with the organization of a company of horsemen for the purpose of following the trail of the renegades. The chief object was to give assistance to anyone who might be in need of it; beyond that our action would be governed entirely by developments.

The three hours following the arrival of the courier was an exceedingly busy period for me. The number of saddle horses immediately available was limited, and it was important that these should be assigned to the right sort of men. These men must be equipped with rifles, six-shooters, ammunition, saddle-bags and canteens. Equally important was the matter of rations.

Every moment occupied with these details put the renegades just that much further ahead of us. All selected for the trip were impatient for the start, and this impatience grew as an hour passed, and another, and still a third, until at one o'clock in the afternoon all preparations were

complete and our little cavalcade of 35 determined frontiersmen, well armed and mounted, formed into a column of twos, galloped up Allen Street and took the trail for Antelope Pass.

In those "good old days" Tombstone did not lack for men with well established reputations for being "handy with a gun," and there were in this company several conspicuous "stars" of that character. The party included Virgil Earp, my chief of police, and his two brothers — Wyatt and Morgan, — Johnny Behan and W. H. Breakenridge of the sheriff's office, Charlie Reppy, Frank Inglesby, Geo. W. Parsons, Ward Priest, Marshal Williams, Cy Bryant and others who had been weighed in the balance and not found wanting in "nerve."

Arizona is renowned as an arid country, but there are occasional downpours which, for quantity and dampness, are unexcelled anywhere in the world, and it was our luck to encounter such a storm in Antelope Pass. We had just struck the broad, fresh trail left by the escaping renegades and had quickened our pace in the hope of closing up with them by nightfall, or at least surprising them before they broke camp the next morning, but these ambitious hopes were doomed to disappointment.

Suddenly the rain began falling in torrents, the heavy thunder was continuous and the vivid lightning was sporting among the rocks all about us. Very soon everyone was as wet as the proverbial "drowned rat," and although the thunder and lightning ceased as we descended from the Pass, the rain persisted until nearly midnight.

Just as we reached the western rim of the Sulphur Springs Valley we found three or four companies of cavalry in camp on the trail. These had come down the valley from the railroad, thinking that the renegades might cross to that side of the Dragoon range, but as soon as they had struck the "hot trail" they promptly made camp. When we inquired the reason for this untimely halt we were told that it was "too wet to travel."

As a matter of fact, traveling in the rain and mud was no holiday pastime. Our clothing was soaked through to the skin, our boots were full of water, and the soft ground was very tiring to our horses, although we could go no faster than a walk. But with the average frontiersman it is never "too wet to travel" unless he is actually stuck in the mud. Furthermore, *we had embarked in a strenuous game* — to follow as rapidly as possible on the trail of the renegades, to give succor if succor were needed, and we did not know who, even then, might be lying wounded and suffering in the night and the rain. Therefore we bid the soldiers goodnight and trudged on down the valley.

It was about eleven o'clock when we reached a small shack which had been erected on one of the cattle ranges. The rain had ceased and the clouds were breaking. The moon would rise about two o'clock in the morning, and as we had been riding since one o'clock that afternoon, it was decided that we give our horses a brief rest and wait for the moon.

As soon as we had picketed our horses and set a guard, a fire was started in the shack and we proceeded to make ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit, meanwhile munching bits of hardtack or whatever else was found in the saddle-bags that would appease our growing appetites. The fire was cheerful and its warmth most grateful. There was some bantering as to whose clothes were wettest, or whose boots held the most water. Big, good-natured Cy Bryant said to me, "Mayor, you can sleep with me tonight," whereupon everyone laughed, because the 35 of us could not get into the shack at the same time unless all were standing. Thus we sought to forget our wet clothes and sore spots and to enjoy life while the fire blazed.

In this way three hours passed. It was then two o'clock of "the morning after." The faithful old moon was just peering over the eastern horizon, indicating that it was time for us to resume our march. No orders were neces-

sary. In silence each sought his faithful steed, and I am sure each hated to sit again upon those sore spots, the soreness of which had been aggravated by the wet saddles and the wetter clothes. But none uttered the slightest protest. The "cinches" were adjusted, the men swung into their saddles, and, aided by the bright moonlight, we moved on again almost noiselessly along the soggy trail.

The march continued in unbroken silence until daylight, for the men were both tired and sleepy, but with the breaking of the day their spirits revived and there were sounds and signs of life all along the line. At sunrise we halted where there was water and good grass and let our horses graze for an hour. Once more on the trail we followed it doggedly until about noon. By this time we knew we had crossed the international line and were trespassing on Mexican territory.

The only "Indian sign" met with was the trail we had followed. Evidently the hostiles had not found it "too wet to travel," and apparently they had not met either man or beast on their stampede down the Valley, at least nothing had been killed by them along the trail. We had accomplished the purpose of our undertaking, and we had no right to invade Mexico.

Furthermore we were not equipped for an indefinite campaign. As a matter of fact, we were *out of grub and hungry*. Before leaving Tombstone we had arranged to have a man follow us with a buckboard loaded with provisions. Doubtless he had started, but the storm had held him up. Very likely he had found it "too wet to travel" with a loaded wagon. So for an hour we speculated as to how far we were in Mexico, how far the renegades were ahead of us, and how far we would have to ride on the back trail before we would be able to feast on the good things which we felt sure had followed us out of Tombstone. The more we discussed that buckboard and its contents the keener became the pangs of hunger, and so, without a dissenting voice, we headed our horses northward and pro-

ceeded with all possible speed in the direction of American soil and the *misplaced* "chuck wagon."

It was nearly sundown when we again met the soldiers in the same camp where we had left them twenty-four hours before. There was no necessity for them to go further southward now, for the trail of the renegades was not only "wet," but likewise very *cold*. Geronimo and his followers no longer had to fear pursuit by American troops for by this time they were resting in their familiar fastnesses amid the mountains of Mexico.

Nearby the military camp we spied the delayed "buck-board" with its precious cargo, and forthwith all stamped in that direction. Speedily the banquet board was spread, and none of our party needed to be urged to join in the royal feast. Having satisfied our hunger and puffed a cigarette or two, we rolled up in our blankets, thankful for an opportunity to enjoy the rest and sleep we were so much in need of.

On the morning of October 4th we were up with the dawn. Having disposed of a hearty breakfast we saddled up our well-rested steeds and were off in a bunch for Tombstone, leaving the troops "camping on the trail" of the renegades; but on the same spot where we found them on the evening of October 2nd.

We headed for Antelope Pass. Our strenuous, persistent march had not been rewarded by a single stirring adventure to lend zest and compensation to the undertaking. The morning sun was bright and the ozone from the Dragoon Range was most invigorating. The ample supper and breakfast and the intervening unbroken sleep had fully refreshed our party, and all were in fine fettle.

This exuberance of spirits very soon manifested itself in various "wild west stunts," which included cowboy tricks, fancy riding, and target shooting. A couple of expert riders demonstrated the proper method of "fighting Indians on the plains," by urging their mounts to full speed and then leaning far to one side they clung with the left

arm over the horse's shoulder while they discharged their six-shooters underneath his neck.

As the unassuming leader I maintained the dignity of the party in the role of an interested spectator, and had contented myself with witnessing the successive feats presented and heartily applauding the skill and daring of the actors. But I was rudely awakened from my passive attitude when the company halted suddenly and demanded that I should assassinate a merry little prairie-dog who was "periscoping" with his head just above the mound which encircled the entrance to his subterranean abode, within fair rifle-shot distance.

It was a critical moment. I had been ten years on the frontier. During three of those years I had roamed the trails of Arizona and New Mexico with the Apaches. Now I was the Mayor of Tombstone, the city of dramatic name and fame. Because of these varied experiences I had been complimented with the leadership of this stalwart band of frontiersmen and gun-fighters, who had been following the trail of Geronimo. Now I must prove myself worthy of this leadership by demonstrating my skill with the rifle.

These men had never seen me shoot, nor had they ever heard me boast of my prowess as a "dead shot." As a matter of fact, I was never too confident of my ability to "hit the bull's eye." I realized that my reputation with these men was now at stake, and it was not without misgivings that I halted my horse when called upon to make the shot.

Without dismounting I slipped my rifle from its sling, straightened myself in the saddle, drew a bead on the unsuspecting prairie-dog, and fired. With the crack of my gun the prairie-dog disappeared in his hole. None went to see whether the little animal had been hit. That was not necessary, for the bullet from my rifle had plowed its way through both edges of the circular mound on a direct line with the former position of the prairie-dog's head. I had scored the perfect shot. Without batting an eye, or seeming in the least perturbed or elated at the result of this

"test," I quietly slipped my rifle back into its sling and moved forward on the trail.

My very competent and critical audience promptly expressed approval, but it soon developed that all were not fully convinced, for we had ridden less than a mile when a hawk was seen perched on the summit of the stalk of a century plant, and within range of my position. Instantly there was a unanimous demand for another shot by the Mayor.

When I attempted to make the second shot from the saddle my horse objected, by refusing to stand still. Without hesitation I dismounted, took aim and fired. This time there was nothing to mark the track of the bullet, and as the hawk spread its wings and left its perch I felt a bit chagrined, for the indications were that I had scored a "miss." The hawk started a graceful circle upward, but had moved less than ten feet when a single feather was seen fluttering towards the ground. Instantly my spirits rose, for, at least, my bullet had cut into the plumage of the target. The hawk continued its upward flight for an additional ten or fifteen feet — *and then dropped to the ground like a plummet.*... Oh boy! ! ! ! A lusty cheer echoed through the pass and my prowess with the rifle was never again questioned.

It may be noted here that Antelope Pass crosses the Dragoon Mountains just south of the famed "Cochise Stronghold," where General Howard made the treaty of peace with Cochise in 1872. It may also be worth while to recall the fact that Tombstone is the county seat of Cochise County — which county was created and named four years after the death of the noted Indian chief.

Arriving at Tombstone our party promptly disbanded, and thus our brief and eventless expedition on the trail of Geronimo passed into history; but at least we had demonstrated the true temper of the frontiersman in taking no chances on what might have happened to others along that trail.

Nineteen years later, in 1900, three members of this

Tombstone socuting party met one evening at Nome, Alaska. These were George W. Parsons, Wyatt Earp and myself. It seemed proper that we should fittingly celebrate this reunion of scarless veterans on that remote, bleak, and inhospitable shore — and we did.

From their rock-ribbed fastnesses in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico, Geronimo and his band sallied forth on raids of pillage and murder in Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and southwestern New Mexico, whenever their mood inspired them so to do. It is not necessary to burden this story with the details of these depredations, which included the murder of Judge McComas and his wife on March 28, 1883, and the capture of little Charlie McComas, whose ultimate fate was never definitely known. It is not *without misgivings* that I proceed with the presentation of the outstanding facts relating to this period of our story for the reason that it is *no easy matter to recover, rehabilitate, and establish* what Henry Ford has so aptly termed the "neglected truth."

My personal convictions as to the actual facts relating to this particular campaign would lead me to state, briefly, that General Crook, in person, led an expedition into Mexico in the spring of 1883; that he met Geronimo and his band under conditions which practically placed the American troops at the mercy of the renegades and enabled their chief to dictate the terms of "peace"; that General Crook returned to Arizona with a majority of the women and children belonging to the outlaw band; that several months later Geronimo appeared at the international line with between forty and fifty fully armed followers and about one hundred head of stolen stock and sundry other plunder taken from the persons and homes of their victims; that he was met at the border by Lieut. Britton Davis with a squad of fifteen soldiers and escorted back to the San Carlos reservation; that later this stock was sold on the reservation under the direction of the military authorities; that Geronimo and his followers were held as "prisoners of war,"

but were allowed to retain their arms and were given their freedom on the reservation, and that they once more took the war-path in May, 1885.

Colonel James H. McClintock, formerly state historian of Arizona, devoted much time and labor endeavoring to reveal the truth relative to this "capture" of Geronimo in

In spite of this effort he is compelled, in his *History of Arizona* (page 246), to refer to the "mysterious treaty with Geronimo," and further says:

Assuredly Crook had run himself into a perilous situation. The principal feature seems to be that Crook gave the Indians the advantage in going into their own camp to treat with them, instead of sending for their chiefs to come to a place of his own choosing.

Al Sieber, that brave and intrepid old scout and guide, was with General Crook on this campaign. On page 247 of his history, Colonel McClintock says:

Tom Horn was pushed forward as interpreter by Sieber, whose estimate of the situation was shown by his words of warning, 'Take a knife, Tom; stand while you interpret, forget that you may not live another minute, and think only of the talk.' During all the early stages of the conference Sieber was sure that the Americans all would be slain, and he kept his hand within his shirt where he had a revolver with which he meant to blow out Geronimo's brains at the first move that looked like violence.

The Indians announced their willingness to return to San Carlos, with the condition that they were to be fully protected; that they were to be allowed to carry their arms and march as they pleased, and that they should be maintained in the possession of whatever horses, mules and cattle they had on hand, though it was assuredly well known to the American commander that practically every head of stock had been stolen. The leisurely march started for the north with 383 individuals in the Indian column. Only 250 of these reached San Carlos — on June 20, 1883.

Again, on page 249 Colonel McClintock writes:

Chatto came back to the reservation February 27, 1884,

and, escorted by Lieut. Britton Davis, Geronimo returned to his rations at San Carlos on March 14, 1884. Soon thereafter the Chiricahuas (these prisoners of war) were transferred to Turkey Creek near Fort Apache.¹

Several years ago while traveling in company with Major Carter West of the regular army, our reminiscences drifted to tales of frontier days in Arizona, and in the course of this conversation Major West told me that for a time he was detailed in charge of the Chiricahua "prisoners of war" while they were located on Turkey Creek near Fort Apache. At once I asked; "Why didn't you take the guns away from those prisoners?" Very promptly the major replied; "I did, but General Crook ordered me to return the arms to the Indians."

An official communication from the Indian agent at San Carlos to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of February 9, 1884, contains the following paragraph:

The Chiricahua prisoners (?) roam at will over the reservation, some of them having their camps three miles from the camps of the soldiers and scouts; all the bucks of the bands are well armed and mounted, and a party of them are now herding a large band of stolen horses and mules twenty miles from the agency. Persons claiming that they have animals among them that are plainly marked and can be identified, have been denied the privilege of visiting the camp for the purpose of pointing out their property, and also are assured that if found the stock could not be recovered.

The following advertisement appeared in several Arizona newspapers during May and June, 1884:

Headquarters Department of Arizona, Office of Chief Commissary of Subsistence, Whipple Barracks, Prescott, A. T., May 26, 1884.

There will be sold at public auction, to the highest bidder, by the acting commissary of subsistence at San Carlos, Arizona, on Thursday, June 26, 1884; commencing

1. It should be borne in mind that Fort Apache was within the limits of the San Carlos Indian reservation — about 60 miles north from the main agency on the Gila.

at 12 o'clock M., about 90 head of cattle, consisting of steers, cows and calves. Terms — Cash. Cattle to be removed from reservation immediately after sale. This lot of cattle was brought in from Mexico by the Chiricahua Indians.

Chas. P. Egan,
Captain and C. S., U. S. Army.

Customs officers and others were prevented from disturbing the renegades in the possession of this stolen stock. The *Globe Silver Belt* supplements the record as follows:

The owner of some of the cattle here referred to, before the sale, appeared at San Carlos, identified the cattle and produced the branding iron, which exactly corresponded with the brands on the cattle, but he was denied their possession on the frivolous pretext that they were *sequestered as spoils of war*. . . . So far as we are informed, the Sonorian who was despoiled of his stock has not been reimbursed, and *thus the best government under the sun is placed in the light of aiding and abetting the Chiricahuas — with a full knowledge of the facts — in the commission of larceny*.

In order that it may be distinctly understood *who was responsible for the control and discipline* of the Indians on the San Carlos reservation at this time, I deem it important to mention here a conference held at the War Department on July 7, 1883, which was attended by Secretary of War Lincoln, Secretary of Interior Teller, General Crook, and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price, when the following agreement was arrived at:

In view of the difficulties encountered in making satisfactory disposition of the Apache Indians recently captured by General Crook under existing methods of administration, it is determined by the secretary of war and the secretary of the interior, after consideration, that the Apache Indians recently captured by General Crook, and all such as may be hereafter captured or may surrender themselves to him, shall be kept under the control of the war department at such points on the San Carlos reservation as may be determined by the war department (but not at the agency without the consent of Indian agent), to be fed and

cared for by the war department until further orders. For the greater security of the people of Arizona, and to ensure peace, the war department shall be entrusted with the entire police control of all the Indians in the San Carlos reservation and charged with the duty of keeping the peace on the reservation and preventing the Indians from leaving except with the consent of General Crook or the officer who may be authorized to act under him.

The war department shall protect the Indian agent in the discharge of his duties as agent, which shall include the ordinary duties of an Indian agent, which shall remain as heretofore, except as to keeping the peace, administering justice, and punishing refractory Indians, all of which shall be done by the war department as above stated. Signed, Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War; H. Teller, Secretary of the Interior.

Commenting on the above agreement, the secretary of war in his annual report for 1883, page 5, says:

General Sherman expresses the belief that if General Crook *is permitted to manage the Apaches in his own way*, all wars will cease in Arizona, and that with them will disappear the complicated Indian question which has tested the patience and courage of our people since the first settlement by whites on this continent.

Thus General Crook was given the freest sort of hand to "manage the Apaches in his own way" from July, 1883, until he relinquished his command of the department of Arizona in April, 1886. Nevertheless, wars did not "cease in Arizona," neither did "the complicated Indian question" disappear — but the "prisoners of war" did. Whenever protest was made against the pampered renegades retaining their arms and the possession of stolen stock McClintock says (page 248) that "Crook defended the Chiricahuas as *prisoners of war* who had surrendered with the understanding that *their past deeds would not be punished* provided they behaved themselves in the future."

The annual report of the Secretary of War for 1883 includes the following statement on page 5:

"In March last a small party of Indians made a raid from Mexico, and after killing nine persons, escaped back into the difficult country from which they had come. Brigadier General Crook made a vigorous pursuit, going many miles into Mexico, and, after penetrating into an almost inaccessible part of the Sierra Madre Mountains, had a fight with the Indians, and returned with a large number of prisoners, among whom were 53 male Indians. "

It is noted with amazement that General Crook had an asserted "fight" with that select aggregation of desperate renegades under the capable leadership of Geronimo in "an almost inaccessible part of the Sierra Madre Mountains," and yet no casualties were reported. Nobody was hurt. It was, apparently, a bloodless, scarless "fight," — nevertheless, General Crook returned with "a large number of prisoners, among whom were *53 male Indian.*" It is admitted that when General Crook returned from this "drive into Mexico he delivered to San Carlos about 250 women and children — among whom, doubtless, there were 53 *boys* ("male Indians"). If these were "prisoners" they must have been carelessly guarded, as Colonel McClintock tells us that when the march was started for the north there were "383 *individuals* in the Indian column. Only 250 of these reached San Carlos." More than eight months later "Geronimo returned to his rations" at the agency.

It is doubtful if Geronimo could have mustered many more than 53 *fighting men* at the time the 53 "male Indians" were made "prisoners." The wily chief must have been tickled pink when General Crook consented to relieve him of the care and maintenance of upwards of 300 women and children. Doubtless, if General Crook had included 53 *male warriors* among his prisoners that result would have *completely wiped out the nest of Apache* hostiles in the Sierra Madres, and the Secretary of War would have had facts well worth reporting.

It is not at all probable that the Secretary of War was cognizant of the designedly misleading statements incor-

porated in his official report, but it is subtle phrases of this character sponsored by high officials that led me to say "it is no easy matter to recover, rehabilitate, and establish" the *neglected truth*.

Much has been written concerning this *capture* of Geronimo by General Crook in 1883. A very good photograph was made at the time of the asserted "council" when the general and his staff were "arranging the terms of surrender." In this photograph are shown General Crook, Geronimo, Captain Bourke, Nana, Captain Roberts, Lieut. Maus and others. A replica of this photograph in bronze is riveted to the reverse side of the great granite boulder that marks the final resting place of General Crook in the National Cemetery at Arlington Heights, Virginia, overlooking the shimmering bosom of the historic Potomac.

On page 249 of McClintock's history it is recorded that "early in 1885 Lieut. Britton Davis gave warning that the Chiricahuas (prisoners of war fully armed) on Turkey Creek were restless and threatening, but no action was taken, and in May of that year 124 of these Chiricahuas led by Geronimo, Nah-chee and Chihuahua left the reservation and headed southward over their former familiar "bloody trails."

And again in May, 1885, I was a resident of Tombstone when this band of fleeing renegades came down the same trail followed in 1881, but instead of crossing through Antelope Pass they continued southward in the direction of Bisbee — then a very small mining camp. And again I joined a company of about 20 citizens who followed the trail as far as Bisbee, arriving just in time to see the dead body of Deputy Sheriff Billy Daniels brought into that camp by a little company of his excited and sorrowing neighbors. The faithful deputy, learning that marauding Apaches were in the vicinity of the camp, galloped out to reconnoitre, ventured too near to some lurking renegades, and paid the penalty with his life.

(to be concluded)

BARREIRO'S OJEADA SOBRE NUEVO MEXICO

(concluded)

COMMERCE

The commerce of New Mexico must be considered under three aspects, namely: the foreign trade carried on with North America, that carried on with the neighboring states, and the trade which it has internally.

The commerce with the United States of North America is carried on by means of regular caravans which arrive in Santa Fe usually in July. These caravans are composed of ninety or a hundred wagons well loaded with goods and escorted by their respective owners. They elect officers from among themselves to whom they yield obedience on the road. At all times they try to proceed with the greatest care so as not to be surprised by the countless barbarous and warlike Indians who inhabit the dreadful deserts which intervene between New Mexico and Missouri for a distance of more than two hundred and fifty leagues. When a caravan has stopped in the afternoon, they make a circle with the wagons, within which the people and the stock sleep, while a sufficient number of sentinels are on watch all night, in order, when occasion arises, to fire upon the enemy and by all means to save their property.

Generally by July, as I have said, these caravans arrive at Santa Fe, and that is the time when this capital presents a very festive appearance. Then on all sides clothing stores are opened and a considerable number are seen who come to this kind of fair from the pass of the north,⁴¹ from

41. Where travel "passed" the Rio Grande. In Barreiro's time the settlement of El Paso del Norte lay south of the river, the modern Juarez; but throughout the *Ojeada* the name is spelled without capitals, indicating the crossing of the river rather than the plaza.

Sonora, and from all parts of the Territory. That is the time when all the Anglo-American merchants are returning who, during the year, have gone to the neighboring states⁴² to transact business, and then in short is when one beholds a traffic which is truly pleasing. Goods become extremely cheap, for many merchants "burn their profits" so as to return to the United States in August, and purchases are made with the greatest ease. Upon the invoices from Philadelphia or Saint Louis goods are sold wholesale at an advance of scarcely 80, or 90, or 100%, and indeed they are often sold at an advance of only 50%. These crazy bargains have ruined many merchants, for the losses of the company which came the past year are estimated to have been at least 30 to 40,000 *pesos*.

In August the caravans start back, only those merchants remaining who are interested in the trapping of beaver, of which a considerable exportation is made.

As the exportation of beaver has no duty imposed, the American merchants try upon their return journey to carry beaver instead of money, because thus they secure two advantages: first, that of paying no duties upon the exportation of coin, and second, that of carrying to their own country an effect which is there of great value to them and which here is duty-free.

These caravans originated in 1821 when some adventurers began to enter; but subsequently more formal companies of men were organized, until of late years merchants of means have been coming with ventures on a large scale and under conditions very different from those existing at first. In order to appreciate the increase of this commerce, it will be well to look at table number 3 in the section on "Finance," since the considerable annual increase of customs receipts will serve as a scale in this matter.

The Commerce which New Mexico has with the neigh-

42. Of the Republic of Mexico.

boring States. — This also is worthy of attention, as Sonora and Chihuahua are supplied to a large extent by the foreign goods which are imported from here, with the resulting benefit that the Americans who carry on this commerce bring in a considerable amount of money which circulates in this country, both through the payment of duties made upon their return, as well as through the sums which they spend necessarily upon their living.

The New Mexicans also carry on a fairly active commerce with the neighboring States, for yearly they export flocks of sheep, skins, pine-lumber, coarse woolen goods, tobacco and other goods which they sell at good prices. There are persons who have contracts in Durango by which they are to deliver annually 15,000 or more head of sheep which, marketed there, bring nine *reales* or more. A few persons have the trade in sheep monopolized, so that it cannot be considered as beneficial as the trade in skins, coarse woolens, etc., since the latter trade is well distributed among all classes in New Mexico, especially among the lower and middle classes. The general eagerness found among New Mexicans for commerce with the neighboring States is certainly astonishing. In October especially a multitude of people are seen to set out with this in view and to scatter in all directions. Some head for Chihuahua, others for Pitic or Guaymas; some go even to the fairs of Aguascalientes or San Juan; others to Durango, and others finally as far as the Californias.

The internal commerce of the country. — This is ordinary, and the usual manner of conducting it is by barter. Sheep are held in high esteem, almost more even than money, for the purchase of whatever may be desired. Let me add that such traffic as a regular thing is effected by credit from one year to another, and even for a longer time. I have already spoken of the cheapness of foreign goods; those of the country on the other hand, such as chocolate, rice, sugar, olive oil, almonds, and others of this character, are exceedingly dear and at times are very scarce, and

furthermore those which are brought here are always of inferior quality.

*The commerce which is carried on with the Gentiles.*⁴³
— This also demands our attention. With vermillion, knives, biscuit, ovened bread, powder, awls and other trifles are bought exquisite skins which are resold at a profit and from which [trade] great advantage might be drawn, were the enlightenment of the country different from what it is. Were there revenue and export duties on such rich and abundant peltries, enough could be produced at very little cost to load whole pack-trains. What an immense field in Mexico lies open to industry! What seeds of prosperity are under our hand on every side! Even those most remote places which are now occupied by the barbarians allure us with things of value but with which we are not yet acquainted; those rivers which in their lands teem with valuable beaver; those virgin, untouched fields where fair Nature displays herself in all her beauty; those affable climes which offer to agriculture and to stock-raising their powerful influence; those timber-clad mountains and beautiful marbles which seem to be sketching the plans of magnificent cities, [all these] surely are powerful incentives to make us thing seriously upon developing the elements of true happiness which we possess. Revolutionary aspirants! Infernal spirits of discord! Cast one single **GLANCE OVER YOUR COUNTRY**, and hasten to bury yourselves forever in the abysses by reason of the furious remorse which will torment ye when ye shall perceive how this soil, blessed by the adorable hand of Providence, invites the Mexican people with riches and products of every sort, and which they do not enjoy nor even know as yet because of your criminality and perverse designs!

43. A common term applied in early times to the Indian tribes which had not accepted the religion of the Spaniards.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The civil government of New Mexico is entrusted to a chief, named by the [federal] government and removed at will, nor has he a regular secretary. It is commonly believed that the civil chief is "judge of alcaldes" and is like a court of appeals to which aggrieved parties may have recourse in seeking relief from judgments which they consider unjust. The result of this mistaken belief is that the said chief is always occupied by ridiculous cases and is distracted by a thousand impertinent complaints against the justices. The civil chief who may care to abuse the authority which ignorance thus affords him, how many injuries may he not occasion!

As the civil chief is the authority in closest touch with the towns, it would be well that full and sufficient powers should be designated for him, but that with all prudence and wisdom such powers should tie his hands from any evil-doing and leave them free for all the well-doing possible.

The power possessed by the supreme government of removing the civil chief at will is certainly very unfortunate and prejudicial, since it opens the door to the one who is most aspiring, so that men perhaps without merit and solely by persistence or influence may put themselves into office.

On the other hand, instability in office is a source of terrible evils, just as security is the most powerful incentive for men to strive to accredit themselves for distinction and advancement. Therefore it would be well for the government of New Mexico to be conferred for regular and fixed periods so that within such terms he who might be chief at the time might suffer removal only for cause proved in accordance with the law.

The Territorial Deputation. — This body is null and insignificant, since it does not have sufficient authority to function for itself. Hence it is that, unless a new law

regulates the faculties of the deputation upon a different footing, those which it has by chapter two of the decree of June 23, 1813, are absolutely impractical, some because they conflict with our system of government and others because they do not suit the conditions of the country.

I excuse myself from writing the government more fully upon this point because, as I am informed, the territorial deputy Presbyter Don José Antonio Martínez drew up an exposition which the deputation approved and forwarded to that government, in which he demonstrates by various considerations how useless the deputation is and how easy it would be to transfer its powers to the town-councils and to the civil chief.

The Town Councils. — Table No. 1 shows the places where such bodies exist, and those which have only an *alcalde*. The illiteracy which prevails generally in this Territory causes these bodies, in which the law has deposited a great part of the common happiness, to be null and insignificant; so it will be evident that this, by no means the least of ills, is curable only by time and by such protection as the government may give to education.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

In the house of the Vicar General Don Juan Rafael Rascon, the young man Guadalupe Miranda affords this Territory the very unusual service of teaching certain youths elementary Castilian grammar, Latin and certain rudiments of philosophy. The constancy and devotion of the citizen Miranda deserve just praise, nor is less merit due to the progress made by the young men, for they struggle with great inconveniences such as the lack of books, etc. May Heaven be pleased to provide New Mexico a scientific establishment in which her sons may be instructed according to the light of our age!

Public schools. — Table No. 2 shows the places where there are such schools, and the salaries enjoyed by their

teachers. Nothing in the Territory is better provided for comparatively than the establishment of schools, but nothing is found in a more distressing condition than they. The results of primary instruction are not noticeable, this misfortune being due in part to the neglect, laziness and ignorance of many schoolmasters, and due likewise to the lack of zeal on the part of the authorities.

Freedom of the press. — Liberty of the press is the vehicle which communicates enlightenment to all classes of society, especially to the lowest class of people. This precious gift, granted to us by the wisdom of the great legislators of our Republic, is the firmest support of liberal institutions; for, more than by physical strength, these institutions are conserved by moral vigor, which results from the enlightenment of the citizens. But this inestimable good is as if dead for this Territory, as not a press is known, nor do papers circulate which would spread abroad that public spirit which is the very soul of republican liberty.

The scarcity of books, particularly of those elementary ones which contribute so largely in disseminating ideas, is another obstacle opposed to enlightenment, and another no less is the enormous distance at which this place lies, and the lack of communication which obtains with the interior of the Republic.

As a chief means of fostering the enlightenment of New Mexico I judge the fulfilment in all its parts of the decree of January 26, 1813, in which it was ordered to erect a bishopric and a seminary of higher education in this capital, for more than in any other place of the Republic is the said establishment [here] an absolute necessity.

THE MILITARY BRANCH

The frontier situation of New Mexico, the situation which she holds topographically with regard to the rest of the Republic, and her critical situation with respect to

thirty or more Gentile nations which encircle her are surely three most weighty motives or reasons which demonstrate even to actual proof that this military point should be fully safeguarded.

He who knows the advanced pretensions which the of the Republic, and her critical situation with respect to boundaries between this Republic and that of the North, since they wish to make out that the limits of Louisiana extend as far as the left bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte; he who is posted as to the menaces and devices which the United States have constantly used against New Mexico, to such an extent that in the year 1806 the officer Paykie⁴⁴ and the trader Robinson constructed a fort on the Gallinas River in which they had a number of soldiers; he who is not ignorant of these and other details will certainly be astounded when he casts his eye over New Mexico and finds only a people innocent and unprovided of any defense. Without soldiers, without established revenues, without constitution, without laws which are the protection of a populace and of their agriculture and other branches of industry, this unhappy country is delivered over to the disorder which naturally follows the lack of these resources.

Let us for a moment suppose that the United States have dispatched against us a military expedition of three or four thousand men which, under whatever pretext assembled, comes to occupy this soil; what attitude would New Mexico assume? With no more than a hundred men in the permanent force, in what manner would resistance be offered? Now I seem to see that the New Mexicans grasp their arms and run to defend the integrity of their fatherland, and that our imagined expeditionaries would not attain their triumph unless over the corpses of more than forty thousand inhabitants; but since in this estimate we must not count on the force of society *en masse* but rather on that part which is destined by their character

44. Lieut. Zebulon Pike, who put his stockade not on the Gallinas but on the south bank of the Conejos River, a western tributary of the Rio Grande.

and profession to sustain our independence and laws, let us restate our supposition and let us imagine what would be the fortune of war for one hundred men against three or four thousand. Well then, if to these reflections we add the possibility of an American expedition larger than that cited; the lack of instruction in that important arm, the artillery; the absence of mounts in which our troop ordinarily finds itself; the many completely armed Anglo-Americans that there are among us; and so on with various other reflections of like tenor, we should recognize as proved our uselessness and our unarmed condition.⁴⁵

Should the supreme government assign to this and to the other frontiers of the Republic a great part of the army, there is no doubt but that it would perform a sacred duty. If the primary object of an armed force is that of repelling a foreign force, is it not natural to station troops so intended the nearest possible to such a point? Why do we want armies where there is no danger, where no enemy to be conquered exists? The Americans realizing this truth, leave not one soldier in the center of their territory, but hold all their troops upon their frontiers with economy to their exchequer and with incalculable benefits. Should we imitate this good example, we should be more highly respected abroad and we should live more peacefully at home, because in fact a republic needs a standing army as much as any other government, but for republics armies are more useful and suitable on their frontiers. Our own unfortunate history proves such to be the truth.

The topographical situation of New Mexico is the second reason which must be borne in mind why this should be a military post independent of the general commandry and inspection of Chihuahua, because, stationed in the remotest place in the Republic and separated from that [commandry] by an immense desert, it cannot anticipate all its

45. Fourteen years later the American occupation of New Mexico was actually effected by a force of only 1,553 men under Gen. S. W. Kearny. The supporting force under Col. Sterling Price numbered about 1,700 men.

military exigencies when so subordinated. Moreover the circumstances of warfare with the Gentiles are different and even contrary in the State of Chihuahua and in New Mexico, for nations which are at peace with the former make war on the latter, and *vice versa*.

As the only remedy for this evil I believe it to be necessary to erect a general commandry and inspection in this Territory according as, and in the terms in which, those of Chihuahua, Texas, etc., are created by the law of March 21, 1826.

Equally necessary and indispensable I consider the raising of the companies granted to her in the same law, for without a force on this footing the single company which exists today would be insignificant for restraining the incursions of the barbarians without the aid of the residents, who have always struggled with their enemies at the cost of incredible sacrifices.

The great number of warlike nations which surround New Mexico is another argument which proves the necessity that this should be a post defended by a competent number of troops.

The Gentiles in their desolating hostilities carry on a war which has lasted for the extended period of more than two centuries, and a war which has been both depreciated by persons not acquainted with it and weighed down with difficulties and danger for well-meriting officers who have carried it on and whose skill has been confounded by tactics reduced to the simple elements of wearing out the enemy; of attacking him only in case the advantage of ground and numbers should favor the savages; of fleeing precipitately whenever a happy issue to the action would be doubtful for them, and of fighting to the last drop of blood when a tight situation compels them to fight or surrender.

For putting these principles into practice, Nature has gifted them also with certain advantages which a civilized man does not possess in the same degree. Every Gentile learns instinctively to handle weapons from his earliest

years; his senses usually are very keen; in the chase and by their roaming life, always exposed to the free play of the winds, they acquire an astonishing agility and endurance. They easily satisfy their needs as to clothing and food. Without very great fatigue they endure hunger and inclement weather and move with celerity over enormous distances, unchecked by swollen rivers, almost impenetrable woods, lofty and craggy mountains, and deserts horrible and stretching far without water.

How often and in vain are the troops worn out in pursuit of the Gentiles, and when these forces from the settlements have started home they are attacked unexpectedly by those who thus make sport of their pursuers! How many other times have they distracted the attention to one part and at the very instant and simultaneously have made attacks in seven or eight other places! And in view of what I have stated, can it be thought that one hundred men may suffice to carry on the warfare which those [Gentiles] may start, when at least a third part must defend the horses while the others enter the fight.

The Company. — The same law above cited allotted the only company which exists in this Territory with 106 enrollments, which places at present are all filled. The company is stationed in Santa Fe, but in my opinion it is of no use here, because when the Gentiles make their raids on El Vado⁴⁶ or on other points the troop cannot prevent it, and if the troop starts to pursue them, by the time it arrives at the settlement the damage has been done already and the enemy has fled perhaps without leaving a track.

The advantages which would accrue to New Mexico from the establishment of a presidio at Valverde. — Seventy leagues from this capitol towards the west⁴⁷ and

46. San Miguel del Vado was a small plaza on the Pecos river, on the eastern frontier of the settled region of New Mexico. The earliest commerce across the plains, by pack-trains, entered the territory by way of Taos, but with the introduction of wagons "El Vado" became the point of entry on the Santa Fe Trail, and a detachment of the presidial company was stationed there.

47. The true direction is nearly due south.

on the left bank of the Rio del Norte is found a ruined hacienda called Valverde which is on the outskirts⁴⁸ of all the settlements and at the beginning of the terrible desert which separates this Territory from the pass of the north. The fertility of this soil, the plains which lie around it clothed with luxuriant pasturage, the charming fields for cultivation which the river offers in its meadows, the fine timber with which it abounds and various other circumstances allure enterprising men there to locate fine haciendas which would speedily make their fortunes; but on the one hand the different tribes of Apaches which oppress those regions so privileged by Nature, and on the other hand the Navajoes who devastated them recently are powerful drawbacks which discourage any enterprise.

Hence it is now evident that if a presidio⁴⁹ should be established at the point indicated, a thousand settlers would very quickly hasten to cultivate those fields and to form settlements of the greatest utility. To this must be added the fact that the families of the soldiers to whom some of the lands might be rented would contribute not a little in making beautiful and flourishing that which is now barren and desert.

Since the only highway communicating with the interior of the Republic passes by this point, a customs-house could be placed there for the collection of the consumption-tax which is now unobserved, for reasons which will be set forth in the section on "Public Finance"; and this would be another advantage which would result from the establishment of the presidio. Moreover two mails could be added so that they would be scheduled at least every eight days, from which would arise the further advantage of facilitating the postal relations which are both necessary and useful for all classes of society and are also advantageous for the revenues themselves.

48. Going from New Mexico to Chihuahua.

49. The author's note no. 6 reads: "Whenever *presidios* are mentioned in this *Ojeada* it should be understood that they are armed people grouped together for defence, and not places intended for the punishment of delinquents.

In short, with the force at *Valverde* as an outpost, the population would be so well protected that within a few years New Mexico would imperceptibly be united along the charming banks of the Rio Bravo with El Paso del Norte. What an alluring spectacle it would be to see a population spread out over a distance of two hundred leagues! What comfort and help would commerce enjoy, making its journeys from the pass to Taos through an uninterrupted chain of charming settlements! Farewell, Jornada del Muerto!⁵⁰ Farewell, gloomy and awful deserts; would that ye might disappear forever, and when the memory of the traveler should recall you, it would be only to praise what the beneficence of a government can do!

I said that the company of Santa Fe was useless at this point, and so it might well be transferred to the presidio which I advise in *Valverde*. so as to secure in all these ways a good system of economy.

Sale of the town-wall of Santa Fe as a means of facilitating the establishment of the presidio of Valverde. — The wall of this capital is a hindrance to the beauty of the settlement because, deteriorating more every day, it will soon appear only in a mass of ruins. Accordingly its sale would be very wise, for thus private parties would erect houses which would be of use and ornament to Santa Fe, and with the proceeds the presidio of *Valverde* could be constructed, in order that everything might be done in the manner most saving to the public treasury.

General reflections upon the military branch. — Being absolutely necessary the establishment of the veteran companies which, by the law of March 21 already cited, were considered necessary for the defense of this Territory, the raising of them must have precedence over all else. For if the lack of revenue in this commissary be made an objection opposing this step, the reply could well be that there are various unnecessary companies in the State of Chihuahua

50. "Day's Journey of the Dead Man." The origin of the name is unknown.

which, if transferred to the frontier points of New Mexico, would bring incalculable advantages.

Secondly: if the government has a sacred duty to cherish the enlightenment of this place, with far more reason must it provide for what the military branch requires, since on it depends the good discipline, the happy outcome of battles, and in short the glory of the fatherland, her independence and liberty. Therefore, to the end of contributing to the success of these most important objects, it is absolutely essential that the government establish in this capital an academy for cadets; for without these indispensable institutes there will never be officers so trained and skilled as to discharge fittingly their difficult duties. Therefore it would be desirable that in this valuable institution they should be instructed in military tactics, the ordinance and other laws also, in the distribution of a troop, how to plan a campaign and to evacuate a defense, how to act in a council of war. Moreover it would be very profitable for the cadets to be instructed in arithmetic and the elements of geometry, geography and fortification, for thus they would all be trained soldiers who would not find themselves during the pressing exigencies of war confused in fortifying a point, in building a fort or in mapping out a country, or in knowing the relative positions which their troops ought to take in the concerted evolutions of an attack. The government could name for the purpose an officer of known erudition who should be the director of this teaching and who, for his devotion and labor, should be assigned the remuneration of one thousand pesos annually in the following manner: the cadets would be charged one peso a month; the officers who might attend said academy on their own application or by order of their commanders, ten reales; and the balance necessary to complete the amount would be charged to the funds of the companies.

The civilian militia. — The civic militia, of so much interest in a free country and which is deemed the firmest bulwark of public liberty, is absolutely unknown in New

Mexico, for they have not even a conception of it. How gratifying it would be to see the government put forth all her zeal in organizing this branch, here more useful and necessary than in any other section! What a powerful defense would be offered by eight or nine thousand New Mexicans instructed in the manual of arms, prepared and active for war!

There is not any doubt. The establishment of civic troops in the Territory would be more solid possibly than in any other part of the Republic because, nearly all the inhabitants having property in lands and herds, it is clear that such an incentive would give them that courage which is the indispensable basis of patriotism. Therefore it would be desirable for the government to create and regulate the civic militia, from the permanent companies themselves appointing chiefs of instruction which would be to them a charge of positive merit towards their promotion, for with this incentive they would take pains to accredit themselves by their efficiency and diligence in the fulfilment of their duties.

PUBLIC FINANCE

The public finance of New Mexico is in charge of a commissary subordinate to the general commissary of Chihuahua.

This commissariat has no arms for the performing of its duties, since a subject who functions as inspector and a clerk is its sum total of employees. The edifice occupied by the commissariat is dirty, insecure and inconvenient. The commissary lives in his private house and naturally cannot care for the funds as scrupulously as is requisite; whence it results that thefts can be attempted on the commissariat with sufficient frequency, and the responsibility of its head is compromised at every step in a thousand ways.

There are no national warehouses in which to deposit the goods which have to be appraised for the payment of

duties, and the outcome of this very great lack is that on the arrival of the American companies very many cargoes are stored in private houses. Ah, and how many frauds will needs be committed with these scandalous storages! How will the commissary be able to depend on the integrity of the owners of houses who hold lightly their responsibility?

The local conditions of New Mexico and the lack of guards which the commissariat suffers favor smuggling in an extraordinary manner. The public treasury loses considerable amounts annually since here, more than in other parts of the Republic, this important branch is found in lamentable disorganization.

An adequate number of employees to discharge the work of the commissariat; some guards so well paid as to protect them from the corrupting gold of the fraudulent merchant; the establishment of the district judge — or better stated, the provision of one in the person of a lawyer of integrity and incorruptible; the election of subjects of probity to the other posts mentioned; and a continuous vigilance on the part of the general commissary of Chihuahua in watching carefully and scrupulously the conduct of these employees, are the only measures which now occur to me as most adequate for correcting the evils which the treasury suffers.

Despite the disorganization in which these revenues are found, advantages are apparent fortunately, as will be seen in the revenue receipts by table no. 3, if a comparison is made between one year and another.

Salt beds. — New Mexico has very extensive salt beds and this branch, which would redound in profit to the treasury if it were rented out to industrious persons, is today absolutely dead. Also it would be possible to place an administrator over this branch and regulate it upon the best footing.

The commissariat of Guadalajara used to obtain annually 16,000 pesos from the renting of its salt beds, located in Sayula, Zacualco, Zapotello, etc; and that of New Mex-

ico by a comparative estimate might well bring in at least two or three thousand pesos.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Whoever figures to himself the enormous distance of more than eight hundred leagues at which this Territory lies from its *audiencia*;⁵¹ he who knows the lack of resources with which these unhappy people generally find themselves, for undertaking a ruinous journey even to the capital of Mexico in order there to defend their rights; whoever has a slight conception of the ignorance which reigns in this country, will not require other colors in order to paint vividly the deplorable and doleful state in which the administration of justice finds itself. Should I attempt to unfold any one of the very grave faults from which this most interesting branch suffers, I believe that I should fill many sheets without having done, and so I shall simply indicate some points in passing.

Impunity of crimes. — Never are crimes punished because there is absolutely no one who knows how to draw up a verbal process, to conclude a defense, nor to fill the office of attorney general. It is going on two years that I have been here and in this time I have advised the continuance of numberless cases with the greatest clearness and minuteness, but to date I do not know the result of my advice. I have tried to put to rights the course of other civil proceedings, but I have obtained the same outcome. The vicar general, Don Juan Rafael Rascon, has assured me that in the nearly four years that he has held the vicarate he has been unable to arrange the matters and proceedings of his [ecclesiastical] court. In effect, the appointment of an attorney general is advised, and the judge raises the objection that there is no one who would be able to discharge such an office; so after this fashion one indicates

51. The legal tribunal at Guadalajara to which any cases of appeal from New Mexico were carried.

the course of the law, but all are blind for following it. In fine, one cannot recount the obstacles which ignorance presents in New Mexico to the correct administration of justice.

Jails. — There are no other than certain filthy rooms with this appellation in the capital. The prisoners are rewarded instead of punished when they are incarcerated in them, because they pass the time much diverted in merry frolics and chatter; and they take their imprisonment with the greatest ease, for at night they escape to the *bailes* and by day to other diversions. How reprehensible is such laxness on the part of the judges!

The only measures which right now I view as timely are the reestablishment of a learned tribunal for New Mexico, and the enactment of the other measures which the most excellent minister of justice, Don. José Ignacio Espinosa, has introduced in the august chambers.

SPIRITUAL ADMINISTRATION

The spiritual administration finds itself in a truly dismal condition. Nothing is more common than to see numberless sick folk die without confession and extreme unction, and nothing is rarer than to see the eucharist administered to them. Corpses remain unburied many days, and infants are baptized at the cost of a thousand sacrifices. There are unfortunate ones in considerable number who pass most Sundays of the year without hearing mass. The churches are almost destroyed, and most of them are surely unworthy of being called temples of God.

The missions and curacies which do not have pastors are in charge of missionaries and temporary curates and most of these parishioners are visited only a few days in the year. How shall not the poor people who suffer this neglect feel great resentment at seeing that from their crops and herds they have to pay for the maintenance of a priest who does not live with them and who perhaps does

not aid them with the consolations of religion in that last hour when they most need them?

There is an absolute deficiency of ministers, for almost all the curacies and missions of the Territory are vacant. The causes which have brought it about that said missions and curacies should have been, and should be, for so extended a time in such great abandonment are very clear; for many ecclesiastics aspire only to hold fat curacies from which to make a fortune, or to maintain a luxury which is surely opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. On the other hand, the curates and missionaries of this Territory have to subsist on a scanty competence; they find themselves separated from cultured intercourse with other people, isolated in these corners of the Republic where only disagreeable objects and oftentimes dangers are near them; they are deprived of the pleasures with which civilized places allure them; they come to live on some miserable ranch and to endure privations which weigh not a little on the spirits of men who are used to a different order of things. And if to those considerations are added the gloomy idea that they have to pass the best of their life in solitude and privation, seeing themselves in the last days of their career without any succor from their poor parishes which from the weariness of years they will now be unable to serve, and therefore reduced to subsist at the expense of charity or off the miserable revenue of some chaplaincy — on these terms, I say, what ecclesiastics will be willing to seek such unhappy lots, unless they be animated by a spirit truly apostolic? It is true that in them they could acquire merits which are very laudable and befitting the obligations of their ministry and of Christian charity, but certain it is that all flee from them.

In order partly to remedy this evil, it would be very fitting that ecclesiastics, when they have served ten years in the cure of souls in these towns with the approbation of the supreme government, should be given preferment for

obtaining prebends in the cathedrals of the Republic, for only in this manner would it be possible to induce ecclesiastics of virtue and dignity to come and give their labors on behalf of these unhappy people.

With a saving of revenue and advantages worth considering the missions of this Territory might be secularized, being made into competent curacies which would be sufficient to maintain their rectors in decorum and decency.

It is more than seventy years since a bishop has stepped in New Mexico, and it might be figured that scarcely any age could have an episcopal visit in a country so remote as this, distant more than four hundred leagues from its Metropolis.⁵²

The radical way in which to make the spiritual administration is to erect a sacred mitre and a collegiate seminary, as was decreed by the Cortes of Spain on January 26, 1818.⁵³ With the tithes of New Mexico, now bid off annually at ten or twelve thousand pesos which is scarcely a third of what they produce, there will be sufficient to meet the expenses of the bishop and college. Now the tithes serve only to enrich three or four private parties without profit either to the spiritual welfare of New Mexico or to the temporal good of the Republic.

I will conclude [my notes] upon the ecclesiastical branch, and in summary will say that Christian piety is indignant at seeing the abuses which are committed in New Mexico in the nurture and cure of souls, and charity requires a veil to be thrown over many things the relation of which would occasion scandal . . . As sole remedy for so many ills, the Territory clamors for the shepherd of her church. *The harvest is plentiful but laborers are lacking. Let us pray the Lord that reapers may enter upon it.*⁵⁴

52. Durango was the episcopal see for New Mexico.

53. Possibly a typographical error for 1818.

54. *Vide* Matthew 9:37-38. Apparently the wording is based on the Vulgate version.

CONCLUSION

I have been able to feel only extraordinary delight in discussing the natural products and riches which New Mexico holds, so that with all the greater sorrow have cast a glance over her political condition and the other branches of her disorganized administration. Only the attention directed by the government to this country, worthy of a better lot, can remove the obstacles which thwart her happiness. Only an extraordinary effort on her own part will enable her to develop those precious resources which lie wrapped in her bosom and which some day will raise her to the pinnacle of her good fortune.

Since ignorance is the chief occasion of the moral and political ills of the Territory, the propagation of culture must be the primary object for the government's beneficence to bring against them as the only antidote,

Unfortunately I see as far distant that happy dawning when the era of enlightenment will begin to appear in New Mexico, for if she continues in that neglect in which she now finds herself, only time, and time alone, will be able very slowly to better her evil estate.

Padre Martinez (son of this soil) made an exposition, so I am informed, in which he said that New Mexico had men [fitted] for all her offices. This was submitted to the deputation, and I know not but that even in the supreme government it was accorded the applause of various persons, and in short it made a great noise. But it must be confessed that it was absurd. This does not mean that there are not very estimable men in the country — certainly not. I am deeply beholden to all the Territory for the kindnesses which have been shown me constantly. Wherever I may be, I shall always admire the good heartedness and fine disposition which the New Mexicans in general possess. I will sacrifice myself should it be necessary for the happiness of this country which is the fatherland

where my beloved son first saw the light. But I do deny that there are men suited to all positions. Let the New Mexicans be convinced that persons are lacking who are fitted to instruct them; that they are not yet even at the beginning of the brilliant career of the sciences, and let them make a last effort to better their lot which is sufficiently deplorable although by many it is not so recognized.

END OF THE GLANCE OVER NEW MEXICO

TABLE NO. 1

STATEMENT of the places in the Territory which in conformity with the law have an ayuntamiento, and those which have only an alcalde and fiscal.

	Places with an Ayuntamiento	Those having Judge & Attorney
<i>Santa Fe</i>	These jurisdictions recognize Santa Fé as capital.	<i>San Miguel de Vado</i> <i>Cochiti</i> <i>Jemez</i> <i>Sandia</i>
<i>Cañada</i> <i>Taos</i>	These together with Taos recognize Cañada as capital	<i>San Juan</i> <i>Abiquiú</i>
	Albuquerque is head of the following.	<i>Alburquerque</i> <i>Isleta</i> <i>Tomé</i> <i>Belén</i> <i>Sabinal</i> <i>Socorro</i> <i>Laguna</i>

TABLE No. 2

Statment showing the places in the Territory which have primary Schools, and the Compensation of their respective Teachers.

<i>Places with schools</i>	<i>Stipends of the teachers</i>	
		pesos.
Santa Fé	0500	
San Miguel del Vado	0250	
Cañada	0300	
Taos	0250	
Alburquerque	0300	
Belén	0250	
	<hr/>	
total money invested in teachers	1850	

TABLE No. 3

STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY THE SUB-COMMISSARY OF THIS TERRITORY through the branch of customs-duties, from July 1, 1829 to May, 1832.

<i>Years</i>	<i>Cash receipts</i>	<i>Debits</i>	<i>Contraband deposits</i>
From 1 July, 829, to end of June, 830	25,834.0.0.	0,000.0.0.	02,958.0.0
July, 830, to June, 831	35,706.7.4.	16,209.4.6.	00,000.0.0
July, 831, to May, 832	25,227.0.0.	39,607.4.3.	00,000.0.0

APPENDIX

A RAPID SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPLE GENTILE NATIONS
WHICH SURROUND NEW MEXICO

The diverse and almost numberless tribes which encircle the inhabited part of New Mexico made themselves known when they were first discovered under the names of Piros, Queres, Thiguas, Zuñis, Xemes, Pecuris, Pecos, Taos, Theguas, Thanos, &c., some of them giving their names to various pueblos of this country.⁵⁵ Later others were gradually discovered, among which the following in particular demand our attention.

AN IDEA OF THE APACHE

The Apache nation is the most malignant and cruel of them all. Always naked, always slaying by treachery and thieving, they torture their prisoners, cruelly scalping them alive, and usually carving their bodies into little bits. The Apache slays whatever birds offer themselves as a mark, he uses the flesh of but few and utilizes the feathers for his adornment and for tipping his arrows. He eats no fish although they abound in his rivers, but he slays them likewise, keeping the bones for various uses.

Religious belief. — The Apache recognizes the existence of a Supreme Being and Creator under the name *Yaxtaxitaxitan-ne* or Captain of Heaven; but he lacks the conception that he may be an awarder and avenger. He does not give him outward worship, and he understands that God formed all creatures for his diversion and entertainment.

He knows that animate things are annihilated after a period, and he believes the same of his own existence,

55. All of these names related to Pueblo or "Christian" Indians.

whence it results that, easily forgetting the past and without anxiety for the future, the present is all that affects, moves, and interests him. He desires to be in accord with the malignant spirit, on whom he judges that prosperity and adversity depend, this belief giving him food for numberless crazy notions.

Steeped in these and similar ideas, the Apaches are accustomed to attribute to some taciturn, austere Indian the power of divination, and the deceiver of whom such a conception is formed fosters it for the benefit which accrues to him, by giving ambiguous evasive answers to the questions asked him. By reason of this practice the others come to believe, and he even persuades himself, that he is the oracle of his people. An adjunct of this office is that of medicine, to the application of certain herbs being added certain ridiculous ceremonies and pathetic chants.

The extreme fear which they have of sickness and death. — The Apaches are always on the watch to see if a contagious epidemic or diseases approach, for if they learn that any such is near their ranches, they flee to the remotest desert and cut off all intercourse with the infected country. When the pest is ended, they again occupy the places which they held before, and if they enter some settlement they insert in their nostrils and ears certain herbs which they use as preservatives.

When they fear that death will assail them, they place lances in their tents so that the death may be caught on them if it should come. In short, they spare no diligence to safeguard their lives.

Arms used, and mode of warfare. — The offensive equipment of the Apaches consists of firearms, lances, bows and arrows which they carry in a quiver of leopard-skin or of some other animal; and their defense consists of a leather jacket and shield. The sizes are different according to the preference of the user.

The Apache is vain of nothing but of being valiant, his enthusiasm in this respect attaining to the point that

the man of whom some exploit is not known is despised. When one has performed an exploit marked for valor, to his own name is added that of *Jasquie* which means brave, being prefixed to that by which he is known, as *Jasquie-Tajustlan*, *Jasquie-Degá*, &c. This idea and custom prevails among the Gileños and the Mimbrenos, who are certainly among the most intrepid.

When an offensive expedition has been decided upon and the Indian chosen to command it, they leave their families within some sierra with a small escort and sally forth from camp generally on foot, divided into small bands the better to conceal their tracks, trying for the same reason to make their march over hard and rocky land.

In order successfully to accomplish their object, they station an ambuscade beforehand in the locality which is most favorable to them. Then they dispatch various swift Indians that they may try, through some theft of pack-animals or of a herd, to decoy into ambush any people who may sally out in pursuit of them, upon whom they charge unexpectedly doing sanguinary havoc.

If one of the bands effects a considerable theft, instead of going to the place where they were to rejoin the others, they are usually satisfied with their lot and so retire without finishing the expedition. But other times, not wishing to fail the other Indians at the rendezvous, they reserve the best animals for their own use, slay the rest and set out to rejoin their companions who are engaged in their respective thievings in other directions.

One cannot describe the speed with which they flee to their own country after executing an important robbery. Terrifying are the mountains which they ascend, the waterless deserts which they traverse in order to wear out their pursuers, and the stratagems which they use to avoid the blows of those whom they have wronged.

They always leave two or three Indians on their swiftest horses a long distance behind upon their trail, so that

they may warn them of whatever they may notice in the rearguard.

Whenever superior forces go out against them, they kill everything they are carrying off and escape on the best animals, which also they kill in the end in case they are being overtaken, saving their lives among the crags and thickets of the mountains.

If it appears through the reports of their rearguard that inferior forces are pursuing them, they await them in some defile and commit a second destruction, repeating this artifice as often as they are favored by good luck and the lack of skill of their enemies. When they know that their pursuers are as sagacious and intelligent as themselves, they divide the plunder in small portions and take their course in different directions so as to evade every blow.

When the expedition is finished and the booty has been allotted among the participants, in which apportionment not infrequently dissensions are accustomed to arise which are decided by the law of the strongest, each band withdraws to its own country and each rancher to his particular sierra or favorite land to live with perfect freedom and without suffering molestation from anyone.

With less preparation and greater profit many outrages are often committed by four or six Indians who decide among themselves to make a quick campaign, the damage which they commit being the more difficult to prevent as it is easier for them to hide their tracks and to invade, without being discovered, even the most distant regions, to which end they always travel through the thickets and rocky places of the sierras, whence they break out on the settlements, commit the offence with the greatest speed and withdraw precipitately into the same rugged places, and through them go their way, it being almost impossible to locate them although they may be sought for with the greatest diligence.

The time when the valor and temerity of these bar-

barians is most evident is when they happen to be attacked by their enemies. They never lack calmness even when taken by surprise and when they may not have a chance for defence; they fight till breath fails them and usually prefer death to surrender.

They go with the same intrepidity when they attack, but with the difference that, unless they immediately attain the advantage intended and if they see that luck is against them, they do not disdain to flee and to give up their project.

However numerous a camp of them may be and however encumbered it may appear, it makes such vigorous marches afoot or ahorse that it frees itself of pursuers in a few hours. Incredible is the speed with which they break camp when they perceive superior forces coming against them; for on the instant their pack-animals are seen loaded with effects and children, the mothers with their nursing children hung from the head by means of a wicker basket in which they place them with great security and comfort, the men armed and mounted on their best horses, and everything in readiness to make for the place which they consider secure, accomplishing the migration through the most impossible rough places as if they were wild animals.

The warfare between the Apache Indians and the Comanches and others under the general name "tribes of the North" is as ancient as are these nations, and their hatred emanates among other causes from the fact that these, as the Comanches, want to monopolize the buffalo herds.

The propensity of the Apache for theft and violence is not restricted only to those whom he recognizes as avowed enemies, but it extends to not sparing each other.

Signals given for getting together and their field craft.
— Notwithstanding the continuous moving in which the barbarians live and the great deserts in their country, one camp easily meets another when they desire to have intercourse, although it may have been some time since they

have seen each other or have had any news of their affairs. Aside from the small knowledge more or less of the lands in which they have to dwell, smoke [signals] are the sure telegraphs by which they seek each other. For strangers it is a science to understand them, but it is so well acquired by all of them that they never mistake the meaning of such messages.

A smoke made on a high place which is then roused into flame is a signal to prepare to resist the enemy who are near and who have already been seen or located. As many camps as see the message reply with another [smoke] given in the same way.

A diminutive smoke at the foot of a sierra indicates that they are seeking people of their own kind; another at mid-slope denotes that they are there and that the former may come at pleasure.

Two or three small smokes on a plain or in a cañon made in succession in a single direction manifest a desire to talk with one's enemies, to which the reply is made in like manner; and after this fashion they have various other signs commonly accepted by all the Apache tribes.

So as to avoid delay in making the smoke signals, most of the men and women carry the necessary means for producing fire. They prefer the stone, steel and tinder, but if they do not have these handy they supply their lack with two sticks provided, well dried, one of *zotole* and the other of *lechuguilla*, which, when rubbed in the manner of a hand-mill with the point of one against the surface of the other, bring fire in a moment, the *acerrin* [tinder] being ignited at the point of friction.⁵⁶

The knowledge which they possess of the tracks which they observe must not be passed over in silence, for they can tell not only how long it is since the imprint was made but also they distinguish whether it was made by night

56. The kinds of wood, or sticks, named by Barreiro have not been identified — another case of terms which he seems to have brought with him from the southern republic.

or by day, whether the beast is carrying a horseman or is free, whether he is being driven or is vagrant, and other points in which only continued practice and assiduous observation can instruct one.

If they wound a deer or other animal, they never lose its trail until they find it dead or disabled, although they may follow it for two or three days.

Classification of the Apaches. — The Apaches are grouped under a number of divisions, such as *Tontos* or *Coyoterros*, *Chiricahues*, *Gileños*, *Mimbrereños*, *Faraones*, *Mescaleros*, *Llaneros*, *Lipanes*, *Xicarillas*, and others who occupy immense and exceedingly fertile regions.

AN IDEA OF THE COMANCHE

The Comanche is distinguished by his athletic and striking appearance, his open and martial bearing and his decent attire.

Their clothing. — It is all of tanned skins, the thin ones for shirts and heavy ones for clothing of the men.

The Comanche wears a long shirt of white or tan color which descends about to the knee. He wears very short trousers, and shoes with which he always provides his feet. The adornment most highly prized for their heads is plumes of various colors by which they are distinguished as to class and rank.

The women wear longer tunics with sleeves to the wrist and closed up to the neck. Their shoes come up similar to boots with the tops concealed by the tunic, so that the Comanche woman displays only the face and hands, covering her skin when on the road with red ochre to protect it from wind and sun. The shirts and tunics usually are embroidered with various figures of roses, pinks and animals, the beautiful colors of which are worked with porcupine quills.

The Comanche women go with hair flowing and are ruddy and beautiful. The hair of the men falls in braids

with great elegance about to the thigh and usually is heavy; but generally their long hair is false, being made from other hair and even from the manes of animals.

Their religion. — They believe in a God whom they call *Niatpo* (my father) but they do not accord him any fixed worship. They have their diviners to whom they give the name *Pujacantes*, which is the same as if they called them wizards.

Their government. — The Comanches, bound together by the imperious law of necessity, are divided into captaincies, and these are subject to a chief who governs them; this chief and the captains being those of their number who are bravest and most gifted.

Men of importance are accustomed to have as many as seven women. Adultery in a married woman is punished by death, and the same is true of public prostitution. Their weddings are celebrated by an exchange of presents. The groom presents the bride's father with horses or definite accounts of warlike deeds, and [in turn] receives them, the day being celebrated with public dances by the neighbors and assembled relatives.

Their occupations. — The Comanche engages exclusively in hunting the buffalo, deer, etc., curing and hanging the meat in a way very original, for their maintenance, especially in winter when the snows compel them to quiet and rest. They tan skins most exquisitely, since they possess the secret of the herbs which are the most active for tanning in the hair, without it and in many ways. They live in great community tents beautifully made from chamois leather and so skillfully arranged that they resist every kind of inclement weather.

Their lamentations for the dead. — Those of quality who die go to the grave wrapped in the best skins. All their weapons are placed over them and also the instruments of their office with an inscription, etc. The defunct is accompanied by all his relatives with a great and mourn-

ful lamentation. His widows, seeing the corpse of their husband borne away, wound themselves and gash the face with knives and flints so that they are permanently disfigured. They put to death all the horses which the deceased had ridden and some are given to those who came to augment the lamentation of the kindred. The children of the deceased refrain for some days from joining in feasts and sports, and *Tibithnasuncat* (I loved him much) is their salutation in meeting their friends.

Their campaigns. — No other Gentile nation dares to measure its strength with the Comanche, for even allied [nations] have been worsted repeatedly. He accepts no quarter but gives it to the conquered; he prefers death rather than to be subjected to any humiliating act. Never does he attack in war at an advantage and with treachery, but always face to face and after having given the signal with his whistles.

For weapons the Comanche uses the arrow (*patca*), lance and firearms. He always fight on good and swift horses, as a rule seeking level places, differently from the Apache who delights in rocky and mountainous country. He seeks to divest and free himself of every garment, at the same time painting the face in a frightful manner. The Comanche in war-garb and skirmishing on horseback presents the most stirring appearance imaginable: the tufts of feathers with which they adorn their heads, their braids flying in all directions, the shields finely decorated which they handle with skill and dexterity, and all their movements are truly surprising.

CONCERNING THE NAVAJO

The Navajo nation is similar to the preceding but has more civilization and culture and has taken up tillage and manufactures. They are not used to plowing the soil but cultivate it with large hoes made of oak or of iron which they have intelligence to acquire in barter for their cloths.

Their cloths are most beautiful both for their weave and for the shades of their colors. A Navajo *sarape* is more highly esteemed than one of Saltillo, since the former is completely waterproof.

The Navajoes breed much small stock and are not without large stock. This nation is about twenty-five leagues distant from the frontier of New Mexico, between the pueblos of Moqui, Zuñi and the capital. They enjoy most fertile lands, a delicious climate and very rich minerals.

The language of these Gentiles is very easy of pronunciation: *tinde* is the man; *chihuata*, the woman; *nortin*, the father; *thastia*, the mother; *nasqueñe*, the son; *queñe* the daughter; "come here," *jajaico*; "where goest thou?" *jadilla*; cold, *cuscacet*; "what do you sell me?" *ya deyuene?*, &c.

CONCERNING THE YUTA

This nation inhabits a very extended country and is very prone to theft, exceedingly avaricious and insincere. The lands which they occupy are delightful, having abundant rivers, very extensive lakes, and much rich peltry.

The other nations which encircle New Mexico, such as the Jumanos, Caycuas [Kiowas], Sosones [Shoshones], Blackfeet and other swarms of them, although they merit attention, would take too much space to be discussed.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS UPON THESE NATIONS

The policy of the United States with regard to the Gentiles is exceedingly foreboding for us since, they buying their lands from them and our climate being milder than that of the northern interior, they are gradually advancing towards us, the result being that every day nations hitherto unknown are making their appearance.

The supreme government must not forget that the barbarous tribes which surrounded New Mexico will be the pow-

ful lamentation. His widows, seeing the corpse of their husband borne away, wound themselves and gash the face with knives and flints so that they are permanently disfigured. They put to death all the horses which the deceased had ridden and some are given to those who came to augment the lamentation of the kindred. The children of the deceased refrain for some days from joining in feasts and sports, and *Tibithnasuncat* (I loved him much) is their salutation in meeting their friends.

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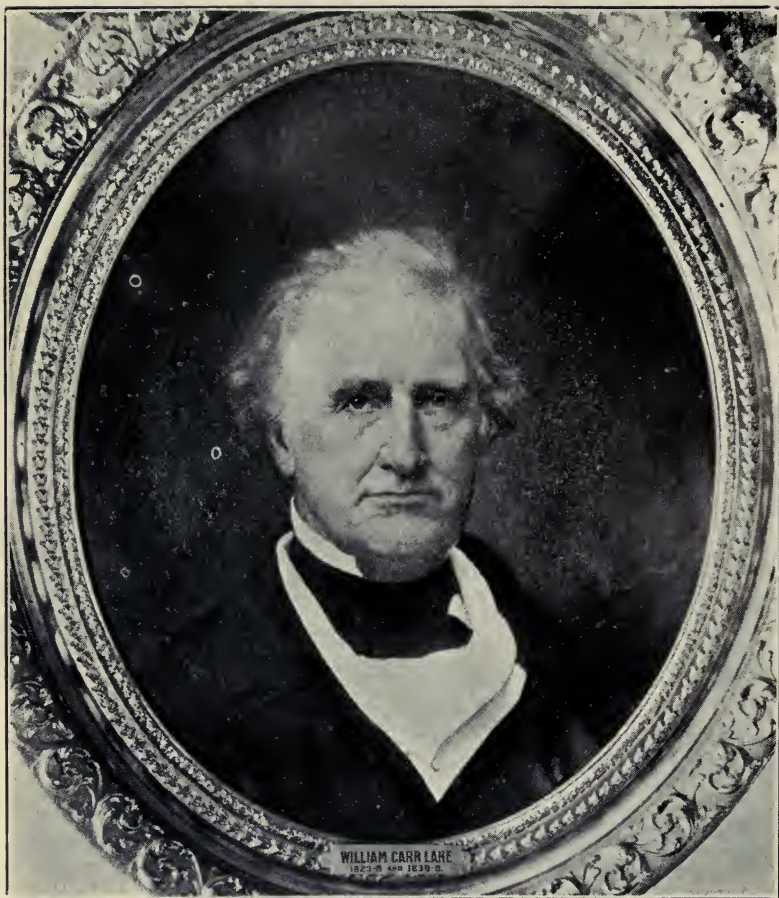
The supreme government must not forget that the barbarous tribes which surrounded New Mexico will be the pow-

erful weapon of which the cabinet at Washington may avail itself for waging, by intermediary hand, the most cruel and sanguinary war upon the Republic, because this isolated country may well be included in those ulterior designs which are attributed to the United States with respect to the occupation which they wish to effect in these regions.

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Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM CARR LANE

LETTERS OF WILLIAM CARR LANE, 1852-1854

EDITED BY RALPH P. BIEBER

On May 5, 1852, James S. Calhoun, the first territorial governor of New Mexico, left Santa Fé for his home in Columbus, Georgia. Sick since the preceding January with a severe attack of scurvy, he had decided, on the advice of his physicians, to make a journey across the plains in an attempt to regain his health. Accompanied by his son-in-law, his private secretary, and a few personal friends, he traveled with a party of Santa Fé traders as far as Fort Union, where he suffered a relapse and was forced to rest for several weeks. On May 26, when he had partly recovered his strength, he resumed his journey, and was attended by an escort of twenty soldiers who were given instructions to do all they could "for his comfort and convenience." As the party traveled eastward over the Santa Fé Trail, the Governor appeared to be improving in health. But in the latter part of June, when the overland journey was almost completed, he suddenly grew worse and died before reaching the settlements. His body was placed in a coffin which he had carried with him from New Mexico, and on July 2 it was brought into Kansas (now Kansas City), Missouri, where it was interred with Masonic honors. With the death of James S. Calhoun, there passed an honest, efficient, and popular governor of New Mexico, who, though occasionally maligned by his enemies, had accomplished much for the welfare of this frontier territory.¹

1. James S. Calhoun, *The Official Correspondence of . . .* (Annie H. Abel, ed., Washington, 1915), 473, 489, 513, 534, 538, 540; "The Journal of John Greiner" (Annie H. Abel, ed.) in *Old Santa Fé*, III, 204, 205, 208, 219, 232; "Private Letters of a Government Official in the Southwest" (Tod B. Galloway, ed.), in *The Journal of American History*, III, 549; *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker* (William E. Connelley, ed.), in Nebraska State Historical Society, *Proceedings and Collections*, Second Series, III, 353; Samuel Ellison, *History of New Mexico* (ms. in the Bancroft Library), 13; *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), June 26, July 7, 1852.

When the news of Governor Calhoun's death reached Washington, President Fillmore filled the vacancy thus created by the appointment of William Carr Lane, of St. Louis. This appointment, according to John F. Darby, was made "through the assistance of John F. Darby, then Whig representative in Congress from the St. Louis district; of Edward Bates, and some other warm friends in St. Louis."

Born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, December 1, 1789, William Carr Lane received his early education in the public schools of that community. He continued his education at Jefferson College and at Dickinson College in his native state, and then studied medicine at Louisville, Kentucky, and at the University of Pennsylvania. While completing his course at the latter institution in 1816, he was appointed post-surgeon in the regular army. He held this position for three years, serving at different forts on the Upper Mississippi and at Fort Harrison, Indiana. It was while he was stationed at these military posts on the frontier that he developed a passion for traveling and outdoor life that he never survived. "He visited all these [military posts] from time to time, using either canoes or horses. As the country was wild and uninhabited, he was compelled to camp out more than half the time, and forced to meet hardships, exposure, and privations of no ordinary character."² On February 26, 1818, he married Mary Ewing, of Vincennes, Indiana. At the suggestion of his wife he resigned from the army in 1819, and moved to St. Louis, which was to be his home for the rest of his life. Though devoting himself to the practice of medicine, he also became interested in politics, and in 1823 was elected the first mayor of St. Louis, which had been incorporated as a city in the previous year. So capably did he discharge his duties that he was reelected for five consecutive years, and after an interval of nine years he was again reelected for two consecutive years. Shortly after he had completed his first

2. John F. Darby, *Personal Recollections* (St. Louis, 1880), 345.

3. *Ibid.*, 339-340.

six years of service as mayor of St. Louis, he was elected to the state legislature, where he served with credit for a number of years. In 1841 he was appointed to the chair of obstetrics at Kemper College; but after holding this position for three years, he resigned to continue his private practice of medicine. Physically, he was tall and well-proportioned. He also possessed a charming personality. These qualities, combined with his experience in public life, made him, despite his advanced age, an admirable appointee as governor of New Mexico.⁴

Governor Lane left St. Louis for Santa Fé on July 31, 1852. He took passage on the Missouri River steamer *St. Ange*, and arrived at Independence, Missouri, the following August 4. The next day he departed for New Mexico as a passenger on the Santa Fé Mail and Stage. Drawn by six sturdy mules, the stage proceeded westward over the Santa Fé Trail, and in ten days reached Fort Atkinson, near the point where the trail crossed the Arkansas River. At Fort Atkinson Governor Lane left the stage and traveled the rest of the way in company with an escort of soldiers. Except for a brief illness of the Governor at Fort Union, New Mexico, nothing worthy of note occurred until the morning of September 9, when the party reached Rock Corral, about nine miles from Santa Fé. Here John Greiner, secretary of the territory of New Mexico, and a number of the citizens of Santa Fé, had assembled to escort the Governor to the capital. "After an introduction to each," recorded Lane in his diary, "we moved on to the city and on the way met many citizens in carriages and mounted who joined the escort with great spirit and in this way I entered the city and drove to the 'Palace' on the 'plaza,' amidst

4. *Ibid.*, 335-350; Ellison, *History of New Mexico* (cited *ante*, note 1), 13; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), I, 654-655; Richard Edwards and M. Hopewell, *Edwards's Great West* (St. Louis, 1860), 571-572; Frederic L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, From 1804 to 1821* (St. Louis, 1888), 164; *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (William Hyde and Howard Conard, eds., New York, 1899), III, 1227-1228.

a thundering salute from Col. Brooks' company of artillery." On the plaza he was received by Colonel Edwin V. of citizens." After partaking of a collation in his honor, he spent the rest of the day receiving visitors and resting.⁵

The time of his inauguration was set for noon of Monday, September 13. This was a gala day in Santa Fé. As the hour of twelve approached, the crowds became so great that it was found necessary to hold the ceremonies in front of the Palace of the Governors, instead of in one of its rooms, as had been planned. Promptly at noon the inaugural ceremony was opened with a prayer by the Rev. Louis Smith, the Baptist missionary. Governor Lane then arose and read his address.⁷ "Gentlemen," he said, "I have come amongst you with two objects in view, namely, to employ my time honorably to myself, and usefully to the people of this Territory. I have no other object whatever in view, and if I fail in these, I fail entirely. I have not come to improve my own private fortune, nor that of any other person, nor to advance the political views of any individual or party. I am unpledged, and perfectly free to do whatever I may judge to be for the best, without being biassed by party, by national, or by religious prepossessions.

"All must admit that Governments can do much for the good or evil of society - but it must likewise be admitted, that in popular governments, the people can do more for themselves than the government can do for them; and moreover that the officers of government can do little or nothing, without the co-operation of the people. The Sumner, military commander, and by a "large concourse government can open the way for the people to enter freely upon the career of business and competition; but the government cannot coerce the people to engage in business. Wholesome laws may be passed, to secure the rights of person

5. Ralph E. Twitchell, "Historical Sketch of Governor William Carr Lane," in *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications*, No. 20, p. 52.

6. *Ibid.*, 23, 37-38, 44-48, 52; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Oct. 28, 1852.

7. Twitchell, "Historical Sketch of Governor William Carr Lane," *loc. cit.*, 52; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Oct. 28, 1852.

and property; but the most salutary laws will remain a dead letter upon the statute-book, unless the people sustain the officers of the law in the discharge of their several duties. You, yourselves, therefore, have a large portion of the weal or woe of this community in your own hands, and upon you, as well as upon those who happen to be clothed with office for the time being, rests a heavy responsibility, which you cannot escape, no more than the office-holders themselves.

“As far, gentlemen, as my official influence will extend, and as far as my personal influence will reach, they will be exerted to diffuse knowledge and promote virtue; to secure the rights of person and property, to develop the various resources of the country, and last, though not least, to bring the distant parts of the territory nearer to each other, and into closer proximity to the States, east and west of us, by improved roads, and increased facilities for travel.

“This country has passed through a terrible ordeal, extending through many long years of revolution and war - and as a necessary consequence has suffered deeply from these causes, in all other social and business relations. But the days of revolution have happily passed away, and the task before us, public and private, now is, to build up that which has been torn down by revolutions, to harmonize conflicting laws, and to reconcile conventionalities in social life, so as to produce unity of action and good will throughout the land. These desirable objects can be attained by time, by perseverance, and by mutual forbearance; for all thinking men must be convinced that one common interest pervades the whole Territory, and that a common destiny, for good or for evil, awaits all its inhabitants alike.

“As to your Indian troubles, the wise and vigorous measures which have been lately adopted by those who have managed the affairs of the Territory, and especially the measures for defence which have been adopted by Col. Sumner, have produced a happy state of quiet upon every

part of your extended frontier - so that the farmer, the herdsman and the miner are now at liberty to pursue their respective avocations with little danger of interruption. It is indispensable that this state of things should be permanent, so that industry and enterprise may hereafter reap a certain and adequate reward.

"New Mexico is now a burden to the United States. She needs all the troops that are now here for her defence against the roving Indians of the plains, and she will continue to need this kind of defence for some time to come. But this state of dependence will gradually cease, and will be finally superceded by an opposite state of things. These picturesque valleys - some seven thousand feet above the level of the sea - and these majestic mountains, some of them of nearly twice the altitude of the valleys - in after times will teem with a healthy, sturdy, brave, intelligent and virtuous population; and, at no distant day, the country will not only be able to defend its own soil against the invader, but will be able to furnish soldiers to defend the rights of the luxurious and effeminate inhabitants of the lowlands of the older States.

"Gentlemen, the cordial reception which you have been pleased to give me, upon my arrival in the Territory, has been highly flattering, for which I tender you my thanks. I am grateful to you, as an individual, for these manifestations, because they give promise that our social intercourse will be of the most friendly kind. And I am still more obliged to you, as a public officer, because they are proofs of your loyalty to the United States."⁸

At the conclusion of this address, a Spanish translation of it was delivered by Manuel Alvarez. Thereupon, Governor Lane's commission of appointment was read, and the oath of office administered to him by Chief Justice Grafton Baker, of the Supreme Court of New Mexico. The gathering then repaired to the St. Francis Cathedral, where

8. *Daily Missouri Republican*, Oct. 28, 1852.

a Te Deum was chanted. A salute from Colonel Brooks' company of artillery closed the ceremony. That night Governor Lane dined with Colonel Brooks. After dinner, according to an entry in Lane's diary, the Governor accompanied his host and Major Carleton on a visit to "Mr. Ortiz and his clever little wife She played on the Spanish guitar and sang for us; we took our leave at nine."⁹

Many of William Carr Lane's experiences as governor of New Mexico are recorded in the letters here published.¹⁰ These letters were written to members of his immediate family, and were never intended for publication. In addition to presenting an intimate picture of his position as governor, they furnish interesting and reliable information on the social, economic, and political conditions in New Mexico in the early fifties.

LANE TO WILLIAM GLASGOW¹¹

Santa Fé, Sep. 26, 52

My dear Sir,

My Journey across the plains, was by no means distressing, until I became sick. The weather was not very hot, during any part of it; & when we had ascended, high upon the plains, it was very windy during the day & cold at night. We had little rain and encountered no danger, - although every body was armed to the teeth, & constantly on the look out for danger.

Even here, at this time, perhaps 9 out of every 10 americans, in this city, as it is called, - go around constantly armed: and I do not know any body, that does not sleep

9. *Ibid.*; Twitchell, "Historical Sketch of Governor William Carr Lane," *loc. cit.*, 52-53.

10. The letters are the property of Professor William Glasgow Bruce Carson, of Washington University, St. Louis, the great-grandson of William Carr Lane. Professor Carson not only gave the editor permission to publish these letters, but also kindly furnished him with important biographical data.

11. William Glasgow, Jr., of St. Louis, was the son-in-law of Governor Lane. He was born at Christiana, Delaware, July 4, 1813. In 1836, after a brief business experience in Wilmington, Delaware, he removed to St. Louis, and four years later married Sarah L. Lane. He was a prominent wine merchant. Edwards and Hopewell, *op. cit.*, 237.

with pistols, under, or near their pillows.¹² I conform to this custom, but under a conviction, that there is no kind of necessity, for any such precaution.

At a season of more liesure, I will look over my meager diary¹³ & give you some items of information, - about the extraordinary plain, over which I have travelled, & the extraordinary country, in which I can located, - that may interest you; but at this time I have no leisure. . . .

As for the palace¹⁴ here, of which you speak, it is nothing else but a mud-house white washed, inside & outside, one story high, with a piaza in front & a flat roof, of earth, - with apartments oddly arranged, - rudely furnished & badly ventilated.

Fortunately the air is so very pure, that all this bad management, cannot produce sickness, - to any material extent. The []¹⁵ of which you speak, consists in an incessant round of business occupations, from 8 in the morning, until 10 or 11 at night; but I expect soon to have a private secretary, who will relieve me of half this burden. And then the "Dignitat"¹⁶ consists in one eternal round of appeals, written & verbal, from Mexicans & Indians, & sometimes from Americans, for reparations, of every description of wrongs, - in which you hear, or read - "Governor," or "Gobernador," every 5 minutes, - besides getting at least 50 embraces, from Indians & sometimes from Mexicans, daily. I'll tell you all about it, by & by. These people *embrace*, with much grace & dignity; but the custom does not suit the taste of one of us. . . .

12. Many Americans took such precautions because they feared an attack by the native New Mexicans. "There is a *great* and *deep* gulf between the Americans and Mexicans yet," wrote John Greiner from Santa Fé, October 1, 1851, "and the love they bear each other has by no means waxed warm. There is hardly an American here that stirs abroad without being armed to the teeth, and under his pillow, pistols and bowie-knives may always be found. None go to bed without this precaution." "Private Letters of a Government Official in the Southwest," *loc cit.*, 546.

13. Governor Lane's diary of his journey from St. Louis to Santa Fé in 1852 is published in Twitchell, "Historical Sketch of Governor William Carr Lane," *loc. cit.*, 23-62.

14. The Palace of the Governors.

15. This word is illegible in the manuscript.

16. *Dignidad*, or honor. William Glasgow's letter probably inquired about the dignity or honor connected with Lane's position as governor.

LANE TO SARAH GLASGOW¹⁷

Santa Fé, Sep. 26, 52

My dear Sarah,

The mail¹⁸ came in yesterday, before the regular time, & made many an anxious heart glad. . . .

You ask how my time passed on my Journey. If I had been favoured with good company, even in the stage, it would have been interesting; as it was, it was very tolerable, - so many new & interesting objects, - in spite of level monotonous plains, without timber, except a sprinkling on the widely separated & diminutive water-courses. It is worth a Journey of 3 or 400 miles to see a herd of probably 100,000 Buffalo; & dare say I saw that number, & probably double that number, - in continuous Herds, - before we crossed the Arkansas, - near Fort Atkinson¹⁹ (F^t. Mann).²⁰ After we crossed the Arkansas, I did not see a single Buffalo; and as their roads & wallows, west of the Arkansas, are all growing up with grass, - I infer that few of them range there. Indeed I am entirely convinced, that the number of Buffalo, on these vast plains, is diminishing rapidly.

After I left the stage, I had agreeable company, - tent, & more comforts, & went on very pleasantly, until I had

17. Sarah Glasgow, of St. Louis, was Governor Lane's daughter. She was the wife of William Glasgow, Jr.

18. The Santa Fé Mail and Stage. This mail was established in July, 1850, and made regular monthly trips between Independence, Missouri, and Santa Fé, New Mexico, in somewhat less than thirty days. *Nuevo Mejicano* (Santa Fé), July 30, 1850; *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 26, 1850, Aug. 11, 1851.

19. Fort Atkinson was situated near the north bank of the Arkansas River, about six miles west of the present Dodge City, Kansas. It was established by Col. Edwin V. Sumner in 1850. At first it was called Fort Mackay or Fort Sumner, but by the latter part of 1851 it began to be known as Fort Atkinson. It was abandoned as a military post in 1853. *House Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, p. 333; *Senate Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, p. 95; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Oct. 1, 25, Dec. 7, 1850, Aug. 22, Dec. 12, 1851, Oct. 18, 1853.

20. Fort Mann was situated near the north bank of the Arkansas River, about five miles west of the present Dodge City, Kansas. It was built by Capt. Daniel Mann in 1847, because "a station, equidistant from Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fé, was needed by the Government, at which to repair the wagons and recruit the animals, by rest, in safety." Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Cincinnati, 1850), 296-305. See also Diary of Philip G. Ferguson (ms. in the Missouri Historical Society Library), Aug. 3, 1847; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Oct. 1, 1850.

that attack. From pyramid creek to Fort Union,²¹ occupying the 25th & 26th, - all the day time, - 1/2 the night of the 25th, & a 1/3 of the night, of 26th; - there I lay, in the bottom of the carriage, - and on drove Major Carleton,²² with tired-out Horses, - fearing I might die, before he could reach the army surgeon, Dr. Bryne,²³ at F^t. Union. - My dear Sarah, there are passages in our lives, that we desire forgot; - I wish to forget all that happened, on the 25th, 26th, 27th, & 28th Aug. - except the kindness of Major Carleton & his wife.

From F^t. Union to this place (the distance being about 100 miles), the ride was delightful. I was then fairly in New Mexico - a few Ranches - 3 villages - & succession of beautiful Mountains, gave sufficient variety to the scene. And thus ended a Journey, which I do not wish to make again, but which my experience would enable me to perform, with safety & comparative comfort. Well, we will see next spring - - I will not repine at Mr. Pearce's election, nor at any possible consequences that may flow from it. . .

You ask how I like playing Gov. Well, only so so, - but better than I did, at first. I think I have already set aside, some impediments, & that I may perchance succeed in doing some good, - the great object of my ambition. I will not say any thing about these difficulties, now; nor will I attempt to draw any pictures of our society, - or modes of life. I leave these things, for next time, - unless I should have time, to cram something into my letters, to Mr. G²⁴ & your sister.

LANE TO WILLIAM GLASGOW

S^{ta}. Fé, Sept 30, 52

Dear Sir,

I enclose you a Dft. upon Washington, for \$500. but

21. Fort Union was established by Col. Edwin V. Sumner in 1851. In 1853 it was described as "an open post, without either stockades or breast-works of any kind, and, barring the officers and soldiers who are seen about it, it has much more the appearance of a quiet frontier village than that of a military station. It is laid out with broad and straight streets crossing each other at right angles. The huts are built of pine logs, obtained from the neighboring mountains, and the quarters of both officers and men wore a neat and comfortable appearance." W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo* (New York, 1857), 51. See also Calhoun, *op. cit.*, 417; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Sept. 8, 1851.

22. Major James H. Carleton.

23. Dr. Bernard M. Byrne.

24. William Glasgow, Jr.



FORDING THE ARKANSAS



FORT UNION ABOUT 1855
VIEWS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

as I am not sure it will be paid, you had better not negotiate it. There is a strange state of things, in every Dept of the Gov^t. of this Ter. - civil, military & Indⁿ; & so ill-defined is the line of off^l. duties, in both the civil & Indⁿ. Dept^s., that we are compelled to grope in the dark, in discharging our duties. For instance, officers in the Indⁿ. Dept., are allowed their necessary travelling expenses, but I can find no law, order, or regulation, by which the agent can, with prescribed certainty, regulate his charges. In the present instance, I regulated my charge, by the allowance, which was made to Major Greiner,²⁵ Indⁿ. agent, for a similar Journey. . . .

LANE TO HIS WIFE²⁶

Santa Fé, Nov 16, 52

My dear Mary,

I am too busy to be lonesome, & yet time drags heavily along. Many serious official difficulties have opposed me, thus far; but I met them, as you would wish your Husband to meet a high duty, & they are giving way - or entirely overthrown. Next month, a new set of troubles come up. The Legislature will convene,²⁷ & I will have one House in one adjoining Room, & the other House, in the other adjoining room, without understanding a word that is said, in either. This trial of patience, will endure for 40 days-ominous period. It will not be a *fact*, but a *penance*, & I hope it will yield some good fruits.

25. John Greiner, a native of Ohio, served New Mexico in the following capacities: Indian Agent, July, 1851-March, 1852; Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March-September, 1852; Secretary of the Territory, August, 1852-May, 1853. The *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, May 28, 1853, stated that "in the discharge of his duties as a public officer, both as Agent and Secretary, Mr. Greiner has evinced an honesty and faithfulness, creditable alike to himself and the Government; and he will carry with him to his home in Ohio, the high respect and confidence of our citizens, both American and Mexican." Greiner's journal while he was Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs is edited by Abel. "The Journal of John Greiner," *loc. cit.*, 189-243.

26. Mary Ewing Lane.

27. Governor Lane's message to this legislature is reprinted in Benjamin M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1912), 488-493; Twitchell, "Historical Sketch of Governor William Carr Lane," *loc. cit.*, 12-16.

I still lead a sort of Hermit-life. The people are not sociable; or perhaps the fault is in me. But we are, nevertheless, very friendly. The Range of my Female acquaintance, does not extend. Indeed the range diminishes, for some have gone away. . . .

Tell Ann,²⁸ that I told Mr. Aubrey,²⁹ of her wish, or rather curiosity, to see a man, whose life was passed in such wild adventures. And he has promised, to wait upon her, when he next visits St. Louis. He is a French Canadian, & is quite well bred. He sets out tomorrow, for California, via the Mexican state - Sonora, with a flock of sheep.³⁰ He appears to be restless, when stationary, & only contented, when making these appalling Journeys. A thousand miles, seem to be no more for him, than 100 for me. Well, he will cool down, by & by, as I have done. And then some other Nimrod, will come up, & take his place.

The weather is fine. I rode out today, without an over-coat, & did not feel even cool. And yet the mountains, - which on the East approach to within 3 miles of this Town, - are covered with Snow, from summit to base; but on the top, it is deepest. On the plain there is no appearance of winter. These contrasts are, to my view, strikingly beautiful.

Business is greatly depressed,³¹ in this Town, & the people are depressed in spirits. There are many causes for this. But I hope things will soon mend. . . .

LANE TO SARAH GLASGOW

Santa Fé, Nov 17, 52

Dear Sarah,

28. Ann Lane, the daughter of Governor Lane.

29. Francis X. Aubry was a Santa Fé trader, an explorer, and the fastest long-distance rider the frontier ever produced. His quickest trip on horseback was performed in September, 1848, when he rode about 180 miles over the Santa Fé Trail from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to Independence, Missouri, in five days and sixteen hours. This record was never equaled, or excelled. He was nicknamed "Skimmer of the Plains." *Santa Fé Republican*, Sept. 12, 1848; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Sept. 23, 1848, Sept. 10, 1854.

30. According to the *Santa Fé Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1852, Aubry left Santa Fé for California on November 16. Accounts of this journey are given in *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), Mar. 31, 1853; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Mar. 25, July 4, 1853.

31. Business was dull in Santa Fé in the latter part of 1852. *Daily Missouri Republican*, Sept. 27, Nov. 29, 1852.

I am getting things somewhat straightened up, & am therefore better off, than I have been; besides I have now a private secretary, who relieves me from much labour.

As for staying here, or not staying, - wait a while, & we will determine all about it, in grand council, - - provided - always - nevertheless, - as lawyers say, that there is any room to deliberate; for who knows, but that Gen^l P.³² & not Gen^l S.³³ will have some say so in the matter.³⁴

I am in luck. The officers at Fort Union - 100 miles east of this place, have just sent me some venison (Black tailed Deer), some Antelope venison, and a Wild Turkey; & a German Farmer, some 50 or 60 miles off, whom I have never yet seen, - has sent me two fine Heads of cabbage. Frank³⁵ got some fresh pork, two days ago; we get Mutton every day, & have a supply of corned Beef. We have Fine Beets & Beans, & some Parsnips (not well tasted), & excellent onions - and some dried peaches: but no butter & no milk. We have however Fresh Eggs. Then we have some starved chickens: they are so miserably poor, that I wonder how they can muster up spirits, to crow as much as they do. . . .

LANE TO HIS WIFE

Sta Fé, 15th Feb. 53.

My dear Mary,

Two days from this time the mail (by a new arrangement), sets out for the states, by the southern route, via San Antonio - Texas.³⁶ I will try this route, but I am by no means sure, my letters will reach S^t. Louis, sooner, than by the usual route by Independence, - notwithstanding that the Independence Mail, does not start, until the 1st day of March.³⁷ . . .

32. General Franklin Pierce.

33. General Winfield Scott.

34. Governor Lane is apparently referring to the probable result of the presidential election of 1852. General Franklin Pierce, the Democratic candidate, and General Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate, were veterans of the Mexican War.

35. Governor Lane's servant.

36. The overland mail between Santa Fé, New Mexico, and San Antonio, Texas, was established in November, 1851. It ran bimonthly until January, 1853, when it began to operate on a monthly schedule. *San Antonio Ledger*, Oct. 30, 1851; *Santa Fé Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1852, Jan. 29, 1853; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Dec. 22, 1852.

37. Ordinarily, mail traveled from Santa Fé to St. Louis in quicker time by

My health could not be better, & my weight has come up, to near its usual standard. Indeed this climate is so excellent, that I verily believe, that I could reasonably calculate upon a considerable extension, of my lease of life, - were I to remain in the country, - at least, if I had the comforts of "Home" about me.

I have heretofore apprized you, of a long (intended), excursion, thro' the Indian country, which is before me. The 20th Inst, has been fixed upon, for the time of departure; but I have concluded, to start my men & Baggage Waggon, on that day, & await the arrival of the Independence mail, myself,- which may be expected, before the 25th Inst. This will give me news from Home, letters from Washgⁿ. & the news of the day, from the states, a great treat.³⁸ . . .

I will write, again, before I set out, - for El paso - Texas, & expect to write again, from that point; - so you see, I propose to keep you posted up, as it relates to my movements.

From El paso, I will inform you of the progress of the Revolutionary movements, in the Mexican Republic, - so called; and be not surprized, if I should take possession of the disputed Territory,³⁹ which I dare say I will find to be without adequate protection, against internal & external violence. Do not fear, that your Husband will go a Filling, in his old days; but be assured, that if duty calls upon me, to occupy & protect this country, provisionally, until the line shall be definitively established, I will do it. . .

the route through Independence, Missouri, than by the circuitous route through San Antonio, Texas. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, Mar. 19, 1853.

38. Governor Lane left Santa Fé on February 28. The *Santa Fé Gazette*, Feb. 26, 1853, described his proposed journey as "a visit of exploration and observation," which "will give him the concluding insight into the geographical history and position of our Territory, and will be very beneficial to the people."

39. Some of the territory in dispute was the Mesilla Valley, which was claimed by the territory, of New Mexico and by the state of Chihuahua. On March 13, 1853, Governor Lane issued a proclamation which read in part: "I, William Carr Lane, Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, (upon my own official responsibility, and without orders from the Cabinet at Washington), do hereby, in behalf of the United States, re-take possession of the said disputed Territory, to be held provisionally by the United States, until the question of boundary shall be determined by the United States and the Mexican Republic." The proclamation was issued in English and Spanish. *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 25, 1853. Good accounts of this dispute are found in Paul N. Garber, *The Gadsden Treaty* (Philadelphia, 1923), 70-74; J. Fred Rippy, *The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1926), 115-125.

LANE TO HIS WIFE

F^t Webster⁴⁰ - Rio Mimbres
Ap^l. 5, 53.

Dear Wife,

Disappointments must be expected, by all Travellers, & especially by those who travel, in this Region. My departure from Sta Fé, upon this trip, was somewhat delayed; & my stay, in the southern part of the Territory (waiting for the arrival of the Mescalero & other Indians), was prolonged; and, by reason of these delays, I did not reach here, until the 2^d Instant. Business will detain me, at this place, until the 8th, 9th, or 10th, at which time I expect to start, for the Rio Gila. This excursion, down & back again, will consume 8 or 10 days. I had intended to have crossed, from the Gila, to the Rio Colorado; but I find so little grass, & so many obstacles, in the way, that I have determined to abandon that part of the excursion, & return to the Rio Grande.

You are, I dare say, anxious about my health. I wish you could see me: you would begin to think, that my application for an extension of my lease of life, had been granted. I have neither ache, nor pain; & never felt better, in my life. On my journey, I sometimes ride, in the carriage, & sometimes on Horse back; & sometimes I walk, for recreation. A tramp of a league, does not fatigue me, & sometimes I walk 2 leagues, with little inconvenience.

The people of this country live, for the most part, in villages, & these are, sometimes, long distances apart. For instance, from the Town of Socoro,⁴¹ to Valverde (F^t Conrad),⁴² is 30 miles, - & no House, that I remember. From Valverde, to Doña Ana, is 120 m^s, - & no House. From Doña Ana to Cruces,⁴³ 5 m^s, - & no House. From Cruces

40. Fort Webster was located in what is now the northeastern part of Grant County, New Mexico. It was established by Col. Edwin V. Sumner in 1851. Calhoun, *op. cit.*, 433; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Jan. 31, 1852.

41. Socorro.

42. Fort Conrad was located at Valverde, Socorro, County, New Mexico. It was established by Col. Edwin V. Sumner in 1851. Calhoun, *op. cit.*, 417, 433; *Fort Smith Herald* (Fort Smith, Arkansas), Jan. 17, 1852.

43. Las Cruces.

to Bracito,⁴⁴ (F^t Fillmore), 10 m^s, - no House; & from Bracito, to Elpaso,⁴⁵ 45 miles, & 2 Houses only. From Doña Ana to this place, 130 miles, & not a single House. And, to pass over these solitudes, with from 10 to 25 miles, without water, you must go, in strong companies, well armed, - to meet real, or supposed danger, - from Indians, or Robbers. In passing from Valverde, to Doña Ana, you must traverse a Desert of 80 or 90 miles, called *Jornada del Muerto* (The Journey of the dead), - in which you sometimes find water, in a pool, near the middle of it, & sometimes you find none. We were so fortunate, as to find water, in the pool.

I have just concluded some important arrangements, by which the Apache Indians of this region, have consented to abandon a nomade life, & engage in agriculture.⁴⁶

LANE TO ANN E. LANE

Sta Fé, June 8, 53

Dear Ann,

Last evening, I was invited to be present, at the ceremony of taking down the cross.

The Fete of Corpus Christi was celebrated, on the last Sunday in June, in this place; & upon that occasion, there was a procession, with much parade & display. And during the present week, the numerous altars, that were erected in private Houses, for that occasion, are being taken down. Upon the occasion of taking down the holy cross, some Religious ceremonies are performed, a collation is prepared, & the whole ends with Dance.

The altar from which the cross was taken down, last evening, was in a Bed-chamber, adjoining the Hall, a sitting room. It was tastefully & expensively decorated, with a spin of the tawdry, about the accompanymnts. I cannot give you a description, that will be accurate as to details

44. Fort Fillmore was located on the Rio Grande, about ten miles south of Las Cruces, Doña Ana County, New Mexico. It was established by Col. Edwin V. Sumner in 1851. Calhoun, *op. cit.*, 417, 433; *Fort Smith Herald*, Jan. 17, 1852.

45. The modern Ciudad Juárez, Mexico.

46. Governor Lane returned to Santa Fé on April 27. "The Governor is in robust health," wrote the editor of the *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, April 30, 1853, "giving evidence of a constitutional and physical ability to undergo any amount of service that may be required of him in the discharge of his arduous duties. We are pleased to record that Governor Lane's deportment and intercourse with our citizens, have made a very favorable impression upon the native population. . ."

and will merely attempt to convey a general idea. The wall against which the altar was erected, was covered from the floor to the ceiling, with rich silks, of different patterns, & brilliant colours; & the ceiling, above the altar, was covered with a handsome shawl. The silk, upon the wall, was studded over, so as to be obscured by pictures of the Virgen, our Savior, & numerous Saints, with whom I had no acquaintance. There was also wreaths of artificial flowers, and plumes, here and there. And on each side of the altar, there was a statuette, of a Mitred gentleman, in rich episcopal robes.

The shawl upon the ceiling was studded over, with numerous little pendants, suspended by silken threads, which were not visible, at night, & from its center, just over the altar, a white pidgeon was suspended, which had a pretty effect. The legs were decorated with red-ribbon, & a band of red silk, was fastened round its Body, from which it was suspended, - with the wings expanded, as if in the act of flying.

The altar was formed, with three steps upon it, & was profusely ornamented. A multitude of wreathed candles, in chandeliers & candlesticks, were burning; & a tawdry figure of an angel, in Bloomer costume, was on the altar, on the left of the cross. The cross was under a canopy, on the highest step of the Altar.

There was no padre present, & the religious services were devoutly performed by the Females. The ceremony commenced by all kneeling, & an audible prayer - recitations, responses & chants followed, & then the cross was lowered one step. The same ceremonies were thrice repeated, with a corresponding lowering, each time; & then the cross was devoutly held, by the person who had erected it, - she being richly dressed, with her head covered, with a Black Lace veil, - kneeling; & it was then kissed, by each Female present, on her knees. It was then presented to a Lady, who was also kneeling, who was richly dressed, & had a Black lace veil, over her head; - and she bore it away. And it will be this Lady's task, to erect an Altar next year, at her own House.

These altars are said to be expensive pageants, in old Mexico, - sometimes costing 2, 3, & 4000\$.

The company then adjourned, to an adjoining room, in which a Table was spread & profusely supplied, with in-

differently good pastries, & Liquors, with agua fria & cinnamon waters, - of which the Females partook very sparingly. From thence the company adjourned, to the Dancing Room, where Quadrilles & Waltz were danced, to the Music of the Harp, until a late hour. I did not enjoy myself much, & left early.

Throughout the whole of the religious part of the ceremony, a deep feeling of piety, was manifested by all the Females present. None of the other sex remained in the room, but myself & another, & he had some functions to perform, in the pageant. The rest of the Gentlemen, went out into the parlour, or into the plasita; & in the plasita, or court-yard, pistols were fired, during the whole of the ceremony.

Thus ended the ceremony of the taking down of the cross (*Descuelgo de la Santa Cruz*), which I never witnessed before, & which I have no desire to witness again.

LANE TO HIS WIFE

Sta Fé, June 8, 53.

Dear Mary,

We do not know, with certainty, where the Eastern boundary of the Territory, runs across the road to Independence; but according to the rec^d opinion, as to the location, of the line, I entered the Territory, on the 22^d of Aug, - altho' I did not reach the seat of Govt, until the 9th of September. On 22^d Inst, it will therefore be 10 m^o, since I put my foot upon the soil of N. Mex.: & here have I been in N. Mex. squabbling & contending, ever since, - except a few days only, which I spent in Texas, & some 12 hours, which I spent (as was supposed), in the disputed Territory, - over which Chihuahua, exercises jurisdiction. I cannot say these 10 months have been happy, - but assuredly they have been far from having been miserable. And in one particular, I have been blessed; - the agonizing associations connected with S^t Louis, have not harrassed me. Oh God, I give thee thanks, for this merciful dispensation of thy providence.

Again, my health has been, & continues to be, robust. I have had neither ache nor pain (after my nephritis attack), on the plains, - cold, cough, or other ailment; & have



TRADERS APPROACHING SANTA FE
(From Dunn, "Massacres of the Mountains")

only lacked the society of my Family, to make life quite pleasant. . . . Travelling relieves me, & hence it is, that travelling is so agreeable to me. If I could so arrange it, - I would make an uninterrupted march, - until I go home; & I am not sure I will be content to stay at home, when I get back again. . . .

I do not wish to leave, until my successor shall arrive; & should I become a candidate for congress, I will be detained still longer. But, at this time, the chances are against my being a candidate, & in favor of my being able to leave, in the Texas stage, on the 17th July. We will see, with reasonable certainty, by the first of July.

LANE TO HIS WIFE

Sta Fé, Aug. 26, 53

My Dear & Excellent Wife,

The Election⁴⁷ comes off, on the 6th of next month; & after that event, *without doubt*, I will take my departure, for Home.

There are 3 modes of conveyance, within reach; a private conveyance, - the mail stage, by Texas, & the stage by Ind^{co}, - and the time of the Journey will be about the same by each mode of conveyance.

I was strongly inclined to set out as soon as I should hear the result of the Election (which be by the 15th Sept), - by private conveyance, but the risk of loosing Mules, on the way, & the trouble of having the responsibility of the party, upon my own shoulders, disinclines me to go in this mode. The Texas stage, goes 2 weeks before the Independence stage; but the circuitous route, makes the time of each, nearly the same.

I have just made an Electioneering tour, of about 100 leagues, & set out tomorrow, - to complete the Tour. The prospects are decidedly in favor of my being elected; but nothing is certain, and especially in N. Mex. So be not sur-

47. The election to select a delegate to represent New Mexico in Congress. The two candidates were William Carr Lane and José Manuel Gallegos. Lane had ceased to be governor of New Mexico on August 8, 1853, when his successor, David Meriwether, was inaugurated in Santa Fé. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, Aug. 13, 1853; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Nov. 11, 1853.

prized, if I sh^d be defeated. A defeat would worry me, for 3 reasons. I should fail to get an endorsement, of my off^r course, from the people of the Ter. I should fail to get my mileage to Washⁿ, & I should be some \$500. out of pocket, for Exp^s of the canvass. A further dissappointment, in not spending 2 winters in Washington, that would not be much, for I dread the Hard-work, & worryment, which I must encounter, - should I be elected. N. Mex. has so many wants, & must have them supplied, & her Delegate would, of necessity, be the most clamerous Beggar, at the Capitol. . . .

I send you a copy of the Sta Fé Gazette, it contains my address, to the people, in spanish, - no english copy having been printed. In the Gazette, you will see that I am praised, "o'er much." A Rival paper, makes its appearance, this week, at Albuquerque. . . .

LANE TO HIS WIFE

Las Vegas, 30th Aug [1853]

My good wife,

This Village is 75 miles, from Sta Fé, - on the road to Independence. From this point, I turn to the North-west, across the Mountains, to Taos. . . .

I am thus far, upon an Electioneering tour, & am in the midst of a Rabidly infected District. In point of fact, the opposition, to every thing American, is so uncompromising, that if this county should turn the scale against me, you must not be surprized. But "all is not lost, that is in danger." They say, they have no personal objection to me, but that they are determind to elect one of their own race: that I am the most acceptable, of all the Americans; but that they must try a Mexican. God bless them. If you knew how very little the very best informed know, you would be amazed at their conceitedness. . . .

I expect to start home, via Texas, on 17th Sept; & to reach Home, about 1st No. . . .

LANE TO WILLIAM CARR GLASGOW

Don Fernandes de Taos, N. Mex.
Sept- 7th, 53.

Dear Willie,

I came to the valley of Taos, - pronounced Tous, - upon an Electioneering Tour; & will set out, for Sta Fé, tomorrow morning. The Road to Sta Fé, is very bad, & we must cross a very high Mountain; this will make the ride a fatiguing one. Frank will ride a Horse, & I will ride a Mule; & the Guide will be mounted, I know not how.

Ten days from this time, I will start home, - by a round-a-bout road, - through Texas, & by New Orleans. You must get a map of the Country, & get your pen to trace my route, upon it. Put your Finger upon Santa Fé; - then look for Albuquerque; - then for the Jornada del Muerto; - then for El paso; - then for San Antonio, in Texas; - then for the port of LaVaca, on the Gulph of Mexico; - then for the mouth of the Mississippi river; - then for New Orleans; - then for the mouth of the Ohio river; - & then for S^t Louis; - and you will have my route. I go in the mail-stage, to San Antonio; and thence I go, in another line of stages, to LaVaca,⁴⁸ - where I will take passage, in a sea vessel, for N. Orleans; - at which place, I will take a passage, upon one of our S^t Louis Steam-Boats. I expect to suffer much, from Sea-sickness, on the Gulph, or sea; & after that, to be as happy as a prince.⁴⁹

LANE TO HIS WIFE

Brown's Hotel, Washⁿ City.
Dec. 24th, 53.

My Friend,

My public accounts have not been closed, in consequence of a want of time, on the part of the accounting officers. I have pressed for a settlement, but they put me off, until after the Holiday. My principal settlements, are to be made, at the Indian Office; and, when I first called there, the Head of the Bureau, refer'd me to his chief clerk, - who told me that little was needed, to close the accounts; - merely my own certificate, to some 2 doz

48. A weekly mail and stage line had been established between San Antonio and Indianola about October, 1851. *Western Texan* (San Antonio), Sept. 23, 1852.

49. Governor Lane returned to St. Louis in the latter part of October, 1853. He traveled on the Santa Fé Mail and Stage by way of Independence. *Daily Missouri Republican*, Oct. 25, 1853.

vouchers, - stating that I had actually paid the money, to the persons, whose Receipts I had forwarded. And as the money had actually been paid, at the date of the Rec^t, & the omission of the Certificate, an accident, - the signing of it, was a mere matter of form. Besides signing these certificates, he said some explanations, - as to other items of expenditure, - were needed. Upon this settlement, I expect a small balance, to be found against me.

My other settlement, is to be made, in the Comptroller's office, - an account of salary & contingent expenses. Here some items, amounting to \$182, have been suspended, for want of explanations, which are easily given. And, in this office, there will be a balance, in my favor, - which I will transfer, in liquidation of the other balance, against me, - the one, I dare say, will nearly balance the other. And, as I will be entitled to mileage, & pay, until the contest, for the seat as Delegate, is decided, - whether I get the seat or not, - I will not lack funds. . . .

There is an effort to enlist the aid of political bias, against me in the contest for the seat;⁵⁰ & it may be, - for aught I can say, - entirely successful. In point of fact, I do not care six cents, about the issue, - on my acct.⁵¹ Indeed, my own interests & feelings, are decidedly adverse, to my staying in Washⁿ, for 2 sessions. I have passed the time of life, when a position of this kind, would have been agreeable: now, it is any thing but agreeable.

Had it not been for an unexpected, inexplicable & indefensible move, of M^r. Secretary Messervy,⁵² I would have

50. Lane presented a memorial to the House of Representatives contesting the right of Gallegos to a seat in that body as delegate from the territory of New Mexico. Lane declared his right to the seat, claiming that "in conducting the election illegal practices were allowed in some of the counties, and gross frauds committed, by which means a majority of votes was obtained" for his opponent; and, also, that, after' the returns had been made to the office of the secretary of said Territory according to law, the legal votes were miscounted by admitting votes for his opponent which ought to have been rejected, and by rejecting votes for him which ought to have been received, thereby giving a majority to his opponent which ought to have been assigned to him." *House Reports*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 121, p. 1.

51. On February 27, 1854, Representative Miller, of Missouri, declared in the House of Representatives that Lane wanted his claim examined, "not from personal considerations, but because he believes it due to those who sent him here. . . ." *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1, Sess., p. 490.

52. William S. Messervy, secretary of the territory of New Mexico.

prevented the Padre,⁵³ from taking his seat; & thus coerced, an early decision of the question. But I will not trouble you, with particulars. . . .

LANE TO HIS WIFE

Washⁿ City, 6th Jany '54.

Dear Mary,

Monday next is fixed, for the commencement of the investigation, of my case, before the Committee upon Elections. We may, therefore, hope, that my unpleasant state of suspense, is approaching its welcome end. It may however be, that a decision may be deferred, until the arrival, of the next Sta Fé mail, - by which some additional Testimony is expected. . . .

LANE TO WILLIAM GLASGOW

Brown's - Washⁿ - Feb, 27, 54.

Dear Sir,

My contest has ended, this day, adversely.⁵⁴ I send a number of the Globe, mentioning something about it; but you will learn more about it, in a more extended Report of the proceedings,⁵⁵ hereafter. You will, however, be able to see the jockeying, which was resorted to, against me. In this relation, all I have now to ask, is my mileage & per diem, which if denied,⁵⁶ will fret me. . . .

53. José Manuel Gallegos. On December 19, 1853, Gallegos presented his credentials and took his seat in the House of Representatives. *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1, Sess., p. 62.

54. The Committee on Elections had given more than two months to the investigation of the contested election. On February 24, 1854, it reported that it had agreed that José Manuel Gallegos was entitled to the seat as delegate from the territory of New Mexico. Though the committee admitted that "there was very great irregularity in the returns," it was disposed to overlook this in a newly-organized territory, since it did not appear "that in any single instance fraud was committed or attempted, or that any single return from any one of the numerous precincts was corruptly made." The report of the committee was accepted by the House of Representatives, and an attempt to reopen the question on February 27 met with failure. *House Reports*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 121, pp. 1-4; *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 40-41, 475, 490-491.

55. The report of the Committee on Elections is found in *House Reports*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 121, pp. 1-4.

56. Lane's application for his per diem and mileage was referred to the Committee on Elections on March 27, 1854, but with no result. *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 756.

LANE TO SARAH GLASGOW

Washington, Sunday evening,
5th Mar. [1854]

Dear Sarah,

The contest for the seat is ended, but my business is not yet ended. I have two sets of Acc^{ts} - one as Govⁿ & the other as superintendent of Indian affairs, which had to be overhauled from the beginning. Many difficulties was started, in settling my Gov^{rs} accts, but each was met & explained, without dotting an i or crossing a t; and the acc^{ts} were passed, just as I had sent them forward, - with compliments from Whitlesey, the "watch dog" of the Treasury, - who said it was "refreshing," to meet with an officer like me, who had given his attention to something else, than plundering the public.

But my Indⁿ accts were not taken up, until the first instant. I had been told, that nothing was needed, but the formality of signing some certificates; & thus far, nothing else has been required; & even this was not necessary, for upon the clerk's opening the packet, containing the defective vouchers, I opened the corresponding duplicate packet, which I had brought with me, & found that my packet contained the perfect vouchers, - which were thereupon transferred. . . .

LANE TO HIS WIFE

Washington - 16th March [1854].

My Wife,

My unwilling detention here, has one comfort, attached to it; - I am allowed to receive & write Letters. Since the first Instant, I have been in attendance, at the Indian office, in settling my accounts, as superintendent of Indⁿ affairs, in N. Mex^o; & the job is not yet ended. My acc^{ts} (Thank G-d), have passed thro' the first, & most trying, ordeal, - & nothing is found, that does not admit of ready explanation. . . .

There are two sources of difficulties, in settling accounts here. The first springs from the fact, that the force, in the offices, is not adequate, to the prompt performance of the official duties, of the offices respectively. The second

arises from the political error, of changing all the heads of offices, & most of the subordinates, at the accession of each President, - thereby filling the offices, with incompetent persons, - until they become schooled, in their duties. There is yet another defect. In order to guard against frauds, accounts are obliged to pass through many hands. For instance, my Indian accounts, have gone through the hands of the accounting officer, & have rec^d his Remarks in writing, - & he has sent them to the chief clerk, who holds them, subject to the decision of the Head of the Indian Bureau. From him, they go to the 2^d Auditor, - where, I believe, the examination closes. Now it is my opinion, that it would insure more good, if the clerk, & the Com^{er}, alone, had the responsibility of the settlement. The more you divide the responsibility, the more chances do you produce, for the perpetration of frauds. . .

Santa Fe, New Mexico,
January 17, 1928.

BIENNIAL REPORT FOR THE YEARS 1926-1927

Lansing B. Bloom, corresponding secretary & treasurer

In assembling the material for a report upon the work of my dual office for the past biennium, one fact which became increasingly evident was that our Society has, in the last few years, made a third start in active and effective historical service.

First organized in December, 1859, the Society was forced to suspend operations in 1863, during the Civil War period. Reorganized and incorporated in 1880-81, the Society had, at times, a somewhat precarious existence, but, owing chiefly to the unflagging devotion of the late L. Bradford Prince, until his death in December, 1922, the Society during this period built up a very valuable and important museum and library and published occasionally through the years a series of twenty-three papers.

The third stage in the life and work of our Society may be said to have started with the active participation of the late Ralph E. Twitchell. Our list of papers published from 1881 to 1927 shows that, of the eleven titles published since 1917 (nos. 20-30), eight were from his pen. The revision of our constitution was effected after his death but was mainly along the lines proposed by him, providing among other things for a body of Fellows and for greater activity in research and publication. The correlating of our interests with those of the School of American Research in our museums, libraries, research and publication which has been realized during the past biennium has been along the line of policy which Colonel Twitchell had initiated.

Perhaps you will pardon this introduction, since it

explains in part the form which this report has taken. From the treasurer's report in January, 1915, until the election of your present officer in October, 1924, there is no treasurer's report of record. The State appropriation to our Society was \$1,200.00 a year — of which nearly a thousand dollars had not been collected until just before the then fiscal year ended; and receipts from other sources from 1914 to 1924 are not a matter of record in any papers which your present officer has seen, except a few entries in the *secretary's* book, the last of which were in the year 1919.

It has seemed best, therefore, in reporting as treasurer, to give a brief summary from October, 1924, to the end of 1927. (See Exhibit A) The 12th fiscal year ended November 30, 1924; by action of the state legislature that winter the 13th fiscal year, and subsequent years, were made to end June 30th. For the seven months of the 13th fiscal year, therefore, our Society received from the state \$700, prorated from appropriation of \$1,200.00 then in effect.

For the state biennium beginning July 1, 1925, our Society received \$1,800 a year; and for the state biennium beginning July 1, 1927, we are receiving \$2,000.00 a year. By our constitution as now in effect, the Society biennium begins January 1 of even-numbered years.

For details of receipts and expenditures from October, 1924, to date, members are referred to the treasurer's book. For this report, however, a second table is appended (Exhibit B) showing the more important expenditures of approximately \$25.00 or over.

For convenience in accounting to the state as to expenditure of our state appropriation, a column under the title "State Fund" is carried independently of the Society accounts as a whole. The latter are shown at present in five funds under the titles "Administration," "Library and Museum," "Purchase and Sales," "Fort Marcy," and "Cross of the Martyrs;" the "War Trophies fund" has been closed out. By action of the executive council in January, 1926,

receipts from fees and dues during the past biennium were put in the "Purchase" fund at the convenience of your corresponding secretary; and in the fund now are also placed receipts from sales and commissions on sales.

A tabulation of our membership at the close of 1927 shows:

<i>gains</i>		<i>losses</i>	
honorary life	— 1	death: honorary life	— 1
annual, elected,	— 84	life	— 4
annual, restored,	— 1	annual	— 7
			12
		resignations	— — — 5
		inactive	— — — 50
			67

86, or a net gain for the two years of 19

The membership of our Society, January 1, 1928, is as follows:

Honorary life	— 7
Life	— 39
Annual	— 118
	164
total,	— 164

The necrology list includes the following names:

Honorary Life
 Mrs. Eugene A. Carr
Life
 Edward E. Ayer
 Abe F. Spiegelberg
 Frank Springer
 Roberts Walker

Annual Members
 F. S. Curtis, Jr.
 Grant Jackson
 Andrieus A. Jones
 Leigh K. Patton
 Benjamin M. Read
 Chester H. Smith
 Charles Morgan Wood

The loss by death of associates in our work is always the occasion of sincere grief, especially when, as in the above list, those taken from us have taken an active and helpful part in the work of our Society.

The loss of such a considerable number through carelessness or lessened interest, on the other hand, possibly can be remedied. It may be due in large part to the fact that our effort in the line of publication for the past two years has been centered upon our new quarterly. Many seem to have taken memberships with little more thought than for the papers which they would receive; and in these two years we have issued only three. Your officers who are in charge of our publication work will welcome counsel as to its relation to membership.

The resuming of the publication of a quarterly, while it may be responsible in part for the effect upon membership, on the other hand has had the effect of broadening and strengthening our relations with other organizations and students in the historical field. This is evidenced by the growing correspondence of your president and corresponding secretary, and the increased office-work entailed. It is shown also by a stamp collection from the correspondence which comes to your secretary's office and which might be of interest in one of the cases of our museum. This was a boyhood hobby which, with children now in his family, has persisted in the saving of unusual stamps. Recently in looking over the rather heterogenous mass which has accumulated, it appeared that mail has been received from the following countries: England, Ireland, Spain, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Poland, Chechoslovakia, Russia, Roumania, Turkey, Greece, Tunis, Egypt, China, Philippines, Bahamas, Bermuda, Cuba, Brazil, Argentine, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico, Canada — and of course from all parts of the United States.

Without attempting any detailed analysis, this correspondence relates in the main to memberships, to the

work which our Fellows (now thirteen in number) and other students are doing in Southwestern history, to material submitted for publication, to requests for information of all sorts; to material held by book dealers and private individuals desirable for our museum or library,—books, pamphlets, papers, maps, archives.

In closing this report, your secretary would express the opinion that our Society is in a prosperous condition, and we may look forward reasonably to satisfactory development of our work and results attained. The money which has been invested in our publications, additional to subscriptions and the few paid advertisements, is well offset by the reserve copies which we hold for sale — and sales are increasing in amount, thus releasing this money for reinvestment. This means that our Society is now sharing in the encouragement of historical research, in the gathering of historical material, and in the publication of the studies which result from such work.

Respectfully submitted,

LANSING B. BLOOM

corresponding secretary-treasurer

EXHIBIT A

Summary of Treasurer's Accounts

Nov. 10, 1924,

balance received from former treas.,	\$120.51		
“Fort Marcy Fund” at bank,	—	37.81	
Nov. 29-30, received from state auditor,		983.02	
received from other sources,	—	26.50	
disbursed	—	—	\$293.55

Dec. 1, '24 to June 30, '25,

received from state auditor,	—	700.00	
received from other sources,	—	167.48	
disbursed	—	—	1,220.43

SECRETARYS REPORT

209

June 30, -Dec. 31,			
received from state auditor,	—	95.03	
received from other sources,	—	203.17	
disbursed,	—		623.56
January 1, 1926, balance,	—	—	195.98
			<hr/>
		2,333.52	2,333.52
			<hr/>
		balance,	— 195.98
to June 30, from state auditor,	—	1,704.97	
state auditor, War Trophies fund		1,500.00	
from other sources,	—	—	313.07
disbursed, Trophies,	—		758.83
disbursed, Society account,	—		1,618.52
July 1, '26, balance,	—	—	1,336.67
			<hr/>
		3,584.60	3,584.60
			<hr/>
July 1, 1926, balance,	—	\$1,336.67	
to June 30, '27, from state auditor	—	1,800.00	
from other sources	—	477.93	
disbursed, "Trophies"	—		\$826.95
disbursed, Society accounts,			2,491.36
balance,	—		266.29
			<hr/>
		3,584.60	3,584.60
			<hr/>
July 1, '27, balance on hand	—	266.29	
to Dec. 31, '27, from state auditor,	—	1,000.00	
from sale of bond,	—	500.00	
from other sources,	—	309.03	
disbursed,	—	—	1,131.65
balance,	—	—	943.67
			<hr/>
		2,075.32	2,075.32
			<hr/>
January 1, '28, balance on hand,		\$943.67	

EXHIBIT B

principal items of expenditure, Oct. '24, to Dec. 31 '27

The curator's salary, small as it is, has been about half the state appropriation.

Nov. 29, '24,	purchase of Twitchell manuscripts,	\$155.00
Dec. 6,	purchase cuts for paper -----	51.13
	"Santa Fe placards" -----	33.50
12-24,	O. S. Halseth, work in museum, --	25.00
1-9-25,	Santa Fe N. Mexican Co., 2 papers,	314.80
2-25,	Gerald Cassidy, 2 paintings, -----	150.00
	museum cases and shelves, -----	23.90
4-16,	Larson, museum shelving, -----	46.65
7-17,	Cassidy, painting, -----	100.00
9-12,	F. Gomez y Orozco, archive work,	75.00
12-4,	paper stock, for publication, -----	35.65
3- 6- 26,	Otto Lange (Wagner book), -----	43.68
2-9,	purchase Twitchell library, -----	350.00
5-24,	purchase 3 bookcases, Mrs. Laughlin,	45.00
6-30,	Torch Press, on account, -----	40.00
	Welch-Haffner, cuts, -----	23.84
	to Hist. Review for publication,	400.00
10-19,	Otto Lange, books, -----	96.15
10-26,	Duke Press, 5 volumes, -----	25.00
	photostat. paper, -----	28.00
11-19,	Torch Press, on account, -----	32.00
	Blake (Mexico) books, -----	37.00
	Otto Lange (Italy) books -----	43.27
2-5-27,	S. F. N. Mex. Co., binding 71 books,	195.00
2-9,	Torch Press, balance, -----	176.00
3-1,	Welch-Haffner, cuts, -----	47.90
5-16,	A. M. Ortiz, binding 81 vols., -----	165.00
5-18,	to Hist. Review for publication,	400.00
8-1,	A. M. Ortiz, binding 51 vols., -----	124.20

10-17,	to Review account, -----	200.00
	A. M. Ortiz, 54 books, bound, -----	69.55
12-19,	Welch-Haffner bill, (Review credit),	88.92

 NECROLOGY

LT. LEW WALLACE SPRINGER

Death came with tragic suddenness to Lt. Lew Wallace Springer, youngest son of the late Dr. Frank Springer of Las Vegas. An aeroplane in which he was riding together with Sterling Rohlfs, the owner, and W. E. King, an attorney, went into a nose dive while over Toluca, Mexico, and crashed to the ground, 1000 feet. Rohlfs and Springer were killed instantly and King died in less than an hour. The party had left Santa Fe by aeroplane and flew to Douglas, Arizona, from where the start for Mexico City was made. The news of the fatal accident came to Edward Springer, the brother of Wallace, over radio at Cimarron in Colfax County, New Mexico. Lew Wallace Springer was born at Las Vegas, October 10, 1890, the son of the late Dr. Frank Springer and Josephine M. Springer. He attended the Normal University in that City of which Dr. Edgar L. Hewett had been president and Dr. Frank Springer a regent. He graduated from the Washington, D. C., Law School, after which he studied electrical engineering for two years at Columbia University, New York City. Wallace, as he was known to his intimates, volunteered for the United States Aviation service immediately upon the declaration of War in April 1917. He was assigned to training school at Columbus, Ohio. In June 1917 he was selected as one of four out of the Squadron for special service in Europe and was said to have been one of the first twelve American aviators to arrive in France. He finished his training in the French aviation schools. In July 1918 he was assigned to Day Bombing Squadron No.

11. He was in the drive on St. Mihiel and the Argonne from September 9 to October 27, 1918, when his plane was shot down and he was shot through the shoulder. He managed to make a landing and was sent to the Hospital. He returned from the War in March 1919 and received his discharge on March 18 of that year. Returning to New Mexico he became manager of the ranch and livestock interests of his uncle, Hon. Charles Springer, who is a regent of the Museum of New Mexico and member of the Managing Committee of the School of American Research. Wallace maintained his interest in aviation and when Sterling Rohlfs, son of the noted novelist Anna Gatherine Green of New York, took over the management of the Bartlett Ranch in Colfax county and made business trips in his plane to Raton, Denver and Santa Fe, Wallace often accompanied him. On a recent air trip to San Francisco, Wallace, who was a fine photographer, took remarkable pictures of mountains, desert and plains which were published in the rotogravure supplements of a number of metropolitan dailies. While in Santa Fe with Mr. Rohlfs, he interested himself in the development of the City's landing field. Here a short time ago, he received a new lens for his camera which he took with him on the trip to Mexico, which was a business expedition involving large interests. The monoplane in which the young men were flying was a Fairchild's equipped with a Wright whirlwind motor.

Because of his father's deep interest in the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research, Wallace was a frequent visitor to the institution in Santa Fe and went in and out as an always welcome guest. It was last fall that the father, Dr. Frank Springer, one of the world's distinguished paleontologists and famous as an attorney, statesman, orator and philanthropist, died in Philadelphia. The mother of Wallace, four sisters and a brother are the immediate members of the family who remain to mourn the untimely death of the young aviator.

W.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795. By Arthur P. Whitaker. (Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1927) 255 pp., 3 maps.

To readers of the *Historical Review* the title of this recent publication might seem misleading. The point of view is that of the Atlantic seaboard immediately after the Revolutionary War, and the frontier of which the book treats is that between the new American republic and the adjacent holdings of Spain, namely, East and West Florida and Louisiana. It was these parts of the country, including as they did the habitats of the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, which constituted "the old Southwest," with its western limits along the Mississippi river from New Orleans to St. Louis. The interplay of American, Indian and Spanish participants in the struggle for this region gives the material for a most absorbing study, which is described in the sub-title as "the westward movement of the United States) and the Spanish retreat in the Mississippi valley." The story is developed under the chapter titles of Rival Empires, Protagonists and Field of Action, The Spanish Barrier, the Westward Course, Gardoqui's Mission, The Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, Intrigue and Immigration, The Union Preserved, Yazoo, Nootka, Hector Baron de Carondelet, The French Revolution and the Spanish Empire, The Intrigue Infallible, San Lorenzo: a Frontier Treaty. An excellent summary of the history presented by Dr. Whitaker is given in the introduction by Prof. S. E. Morison of Harvard University:

Through an amazing web of intrigue and diplomacy the irrepressible frontiersmen of the old South-West burst their way to the Mississippi. When Roosevelt wrote his *Winning of the West*, little that was certain could be told of this story. Dr. Whitaker has pursued every clue to the

Spanish archives, where the servants of a declining empire carefully recorded every letter and interview and bargain concluded in their colonies on the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi. From the material so gathered, he has reconstructed a fascinating story of relations between rough-necked backwoodsmen of the Daniel Boone breed and courtly representatives of the King of Spain; Scots fur-traders and the half-breed chiefs of the Creek and Cherokee; picturesque rascals like O'Fallen and Tom Washington, and venal legislatures. The influence of this frontier underworld on the formal diplomacy between Spain and the United States has been clearly brought out; and the significance of it, as a conflict between two different civilizations, adequately appreciated. Twelve eventful years of this conflict are concluded by the Madrid negotiations of 1795 between Thomas Pinckney and Manuel de Godoy, and the treaty of San Lorenzo, which cleared Spanish obstructions from our westward advance.

As early as the beginning of the Revolutionary War, Spanish officials were sounding the warning that New Mexico might become an object of interest to the American colonies, and in this history of "The Old Southwest" we have a preliminary stage of that westward expansion of which the expeditions of Rogers and Clark, and Zebulon Pike were but later developments. It is a pleasure to commend such a book to students of the Spanish Southwest.

L. B. B.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE PAGEANT OF AMERICA

The library of the Historical Society is in receipt of Volume VI—"The Winning of Freedom,"—and Volume IV—"The Evolution of American Commerce"—of "The Pageant of America," a monumental publication of *The Yale Press*. The Society owes its subscription to the entire series to the late Roberts Walker. Space does not permit review at length of these sumptuously illustrated books

of more than 350 pages each, but their intent is to present in each volume a comprehensive view of a segment of American history and culture. The story of the Revolution is written by William Wood and Ralph Henry Gabriel and the first hundred pages and more are given to sketching "Military Folkways of Early America," "The Changing Military Arts" and to the "Indian, French and Spanish Wars" and their "Aftermath." Then follow 150 pages devoted to a detailed story of the War for Freedom by the Colonies, to be followed by a hundred pages under these chapter headings: "Sea Fights with France and Barbary," "West Point Efficiency, 1802 to 1902," "1812 at Sea," "1812 Ashore," "The Mexican War, 1845-1848," and "Expert Annapolis," while the last pages have Notes on the Pictures and an Index. The plates of uniforms worn by the troops on each side in the wars are in colors. "The March of Commerce" is by Malcolm Keir and the chapter headings give some idea of the scope covered: "The Evolution of American Commerce," "The Commerce of the Colonies," "The Old Merchant Marine," "Landways and Waterways," "The Spread of the Steamboat," "The Railroad Age," "The Railroad Builders," "The Business of Express," "Ocean and Lake Commerce in a Mechanical Age," "River and Canal in the Twentieth Century," "The Letter Post," "The Telegraph," "The Telephone," "Voices Across Space," "American Money," "Banking," "A Nation on Wheels," and "Aviation." One regrets that the Spanish Southwest is not given any mention in the two volumes and that so important a highway of commerce as "The Santa Fe Trail" is referred to only incidentally. American history is evidently still written from the New England standpoint.

EXCHANGES

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTION

Grant Foreman, who has visited in Santa Fe, contri-

butes an interesting resume of "Our Indian Ambassadors to Europe," to the February issue of "Missouri Historical Society Collections," and illustrates it with three excellent half-tones. "The Beginnings of the Theater in St. Louis," tells of the beginnings of the drama in that city in 1815 when it was a mere frontier post of 2000 people: of whom about one fifth were Americans, a fourth negroes, while the French predominated among the foreign element. The census of 1920 gave St. Louis 4598 inhabitants of whom 685 were classified as laborers, 470 as mechanics, 106 as clerks, 92 as persons engaged in commerce, 49 as grocers and tavern keepers, 23 as lawyers and 15 as physicians. There were two printing offices, two saw mills and one bank. The first plays given at the theater which was a shingled log house were a comedy: "School for Authors" and a farce: "Bucket of Blunders." "The Journals of Jules de Mun" is of special interest because of its references to the trade with Santa Fe beginning with Mallet brothers who as early as 1739 led a "party from the Illinois country to Santa Fe and, after the way had been shown, many expeditions succeeded in crossing the plains to the New Mexican capital." Further: "During the Spanish period one important expedition crossed the plains from Santa Fe to St. Louis and made the trip to New Mexico. This was the Vial expedition of 1792-1793." Authentic records of eight expeditions between 1803 and the Chouteau-DeMun expedition are given. In his letter to Governor William Clark, DeMun tells the details of "the unfortunate event which has thrown me, Mr. Auguste P. Chouteau, and twenty-four men, for forty-eight days in the dungeons of Santa Fe." The picture DeMun draws of Governor Pedro Maria de Allande is not a flattering one, while of his predecessor Don Alberto Mainez he writes: "Don Alberto is an old gentleman of good information, who possesses, in a great degree, the good manners and politeness peculiar to his nation."

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

1859 — Col. John B. Grayson, U. S. A.
1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict

1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch
1883 — Hon. L. Bradford Prince
1923 — Hon. Frank W. Clancy
1925 — Col. Ralph E. Twitchell
1926 — Paul A. F. Walter

OFFICERS for 1928-1929

Paul A. F. Walter, president
Francis T. Cheetham, vice-pres. Lansing B. Bloom, cor. sec'y-treas.
Col. José D. Sena, vice-pres. Mrs. Reed Holloman, recording sec'y
Henry Woodruff, museum curator

FELLOWS

Ralph P. Bieber	Charles W. Hackett
William C. Binkley	Edgar L. Hewett
Lansing B. Bloom	Frederick W. Hodge
Herbert E. Bolton	Alfred V. Kidder
Charles F. Coan	J. Lloyd Mecham
Aurelio M. Espinosa	Rev. Theodosius Meyer, O. F. M
George P. Hammond	Paul A. F. Walter

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended Dec. 15, 1925)

Article I. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of twenty-five dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have by published work contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election,

and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Each Member, upon election, shall pay a fee of two dollars, which shall include the dues for the current calendar year and annually thereafter a fee of \$1.00 payable in January of each calendar year. Members may be dropped from the rolls of the Society at the discretion of the Executive Council for non-payment of dues.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publication of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at Eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Bulletins, as published, are mailed to members; subscription to the *Review* is additional.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex.



JOHN P. CLUM, U. S. INDIAN AGENT
With Escort of Apaches. Taken at Tucson, Arizona,
November, 1874



AGENT CLUM

Diablo, Chief of Coyotero
Apaches

1875 or 1876

Eskiminzin, Chief of Pinal
and Arivaipa Apaches

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GERONIMO*

(Continued)

BY JOHN P. CLUM

After passing Bisbee, the renegades continued into Mexico and soon were again quite safe in their favorite resort amid the fastnesses of the Sierra Madre Mountains.

The annual report of the Secretary of War for 1886 — which includes the reports of Generals Sheridan, Crook, Miles, and others — presents the official record of many exceedingly interesting details of the military operations against the Apache hostiles during the period covered by that report, the most vital of which are set forth in the following paragraphs — reduced to their lowest terms.

The band of Chiricahua “prisoners” who “escaped” from the reservation on May 17, 1885, consisted of forty-two men and ninety-four women and children. As soon as it was known that this desperate band were again on the war-path, General Crook ordered “no less than twenty troops of cavalry and more than one-hundred Indian scouts” into the field, and these “were moved in every direction either to intercept or follow the trails of the hostiles.” But with the exception of “a slight skirmish with their rear

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guard" in which three soldiers were wounded, "the hostiles *were not even caught sight of by the troops*, and crossed into Mexico on June 10th."

For the purpose of preventing raids into American territory, General Crook "placed a troop of cavalry and a detachment of Indian scouts at every water-hole along the border from the Patagonia mountains to the Rio Grande, with orders to patrol the country between camps, and a second line of reserve troops were stationed at convenient points along the railroad." About 3,000 regular troops were employed in these operation. A telegram from Washington under date of June 9th "authorized the enlistment of 200 additional Indian scouts."

During the summer two battalions of Indian scouts, one under Captain Crawford and one under Lieutenant Davis, were operating in Mexico. These came in contact with the hostiles on June 23rd, July 13th, and September 22nd, and these three engagements resulted in the killing of one squaw, two boys, and one of the Indian scouts, and the capture of thirty women and children.

In the latter part of November, 1885, Lieutenant General Sheridan proceeded from Washington to Fort Bowie, Arizona, where he held a conference with General Crook. Another conspicuous event occurring in November is recorded in General Crook's report as follows:

"The raid of the party of eleven Indians who succeeded in eluding the troops on the line and went up into New Mexico by the Lake Palomas trail early in November is mentioned as showing the dangers and difficulties to be contended against from small parties. During the period of about four weeks this band traveled probably not less than 1200 miles, killed thirty-eight people, captured and wore out probably 250 head of stock, and, though twice dismounted, succeeded in crossing back into Mexico with the loss of but one, who was killed by friendly Indians, whose camp they attacked near Fort Apache."

A startling statement, indeed, and the fact that Gero-

nimo was not with this raiding party proves what has often been alleged, that the followers of the noted renegade included several desperate characters who were far more cunning, daring, and dangerous than the wily leader, himself.

We need not doubt that General Crook was now doing his utmost to recapture his former "prisoners of war," but we cannot forget the ugly fact that the General permitted those desperate "prisoners" to retain their arms and supplied them with rations at an unguarded camp within the limits of the reservation until it suited their mood to "escape" to the war-path, and that his brief but thrilling tale of the "The Raid of the Bloody Eleven," with a record of thirty-eight murders, was a direct sequence of the fact that his so called "prisoners of war" were not prisoners at all, but were, under his protection, resting and equipping themselves for the desperate deeds of the blood-red trail, some of which the irony of fate has permitted him to record.

Through an international agreement the Mexican troops co-operated with the American forces in hunting down the hostiles, the general plan being to keep the renegades continually on the move and thus *eventually wear them out*. Among the officers detailed for this campaign was Captain Emmet Crawford, who, through an asserted blunder, was shot by Mexican troops on January 11, 1886, and died from his wounds at Nacozari a week later.

At this time it was reported that the hostiles were "dispirited and worn out" by pursuit, and that they had sent a squaw to Captain Crawford the day before he was shot, proposing a conference. After the skirmish in which Captain Crawford was mortally wounded, Lieutenant Maus assumed command of the battalion of scouts and within a day or two arranged for a meeting with Geronimo and Nah-chee. At that meeting Geronimo promised Lieutenant Maus that he would meet General Crook "near the boundary line in about two moons." The locality agreed upon for

this meeting was about twenty-five miles south of the line and known as "El Cañon de los Embudos."

The purpose of the proposed meeting between General Crook and Geronimo was to arrange terms of surrender, and this appointment for a meeting, apparently, operated as an armistice. The domineering renegade had stipulated that General Crook must come to this meeting unaccompanied by soldiers, and that he, himself, would arrive at the trysting place "in about two moons." Geronimo did not hurry. The period of the armistice afforded opportunity for rest and recuperation; therefore he extended the period and "allowed seventy days to elapse" before he appeared at the point agreed upon — on March 25th. General Crook and Lieutenant Maus with his battalion of Indian scouts had been impatiently awaiting his arrival.

General Crook says the hostiles "were encamped on a rocky hill surrounded on all sides by ravines and cañons," that "they were in *superb physical condition, armed to the teeth—with all the ammunition they could carry,*" and that in manner they were "suspicious, independent and self-reliant." He further states that "Lieutenant Maus with his battalion of scouts was camped on lower ground, separated by a deep, rugged cañon from their position, and distant five or six hundred yards. *The hostiles refused to allow any nearer approach:*" that "Geronimo told his people to keep their guns in their hands and be ready to shoot at a moment's notice:" that the slightest suspicious circumstance "would be the signal for firing to begin; that they would kill all they could, and scatter in the mountains."

Again "Crook had run himself into a perilous situation" — quite similar to that of 1883. Lieutenant Maus had eighty Indian scouts in his battalion, while the hostiles numbered thirty-five — including Geronimo and Nah-chee, — all desperate characters in a defiant mood. General Crook says the situation was similar to that in which General Canby lost his life at the hands of the Modocs. He realized the hazards of the undertaking, and, while we may

be skeptical as to the wisdom of the General's methods in dealing with renegades, his dauntless courage compels our admiration.

General Crook says he demanded an unconditional surrender, while the hostiles insisted that they be allowed to return to the reservation on the status existing before they left. A compromise was finally proposed which provided that the hostiles "should be sent east for not exceeding two years, taking with them such of their families as they desired." The renegades became impatient — threatening to abandon the conference and resume hostilities. General Sheridan's report states that "he (Crook) was obliged to decide quickly," and in these circumstances he accepted their surrender under the terms of the compromise proposal.

But this was another "verbal surrender" in which none were disarmed, or even placed under guard. Once more this bunch of ruthless Chiricahua marauders had consented to be designated as "prisoners of war" — *provided only that all were allowed to retain their arms and their freedom*. Let us read General Crook's pathetic picture of his humiliating situation as recorded on page 153 of his annual report. The general says:

"Even after they surrendered to me they did not cease their vigilance. They kept mounted men on watch, and even after the march northward began the hostiles scattered over the country in parties of two or three. At night they camped in the same way, and, had I desired, it would have been an absolute impossibility to have seized more than half-a-dozen of them."

It will be noted that, notwithstanding the fact that these Indians had "surrendered" to General Crook, he still refers to them as "hostiles" — which, in fact, they were. Finally it was agreed that Geronimo and his band should accompany the battalion of scouts under Lieutenant Maus to Fort Bowie, and the march commenced on the morning of March 28th and proceeded until the night of the 29th

without special incident — except the alleged activities of some “bootleggers” from Tombstone. “On the night of the 29th,” General Crook tells us, “the hostiles were apparently sober, and no trouble was indicated, but during the night Geronimo and Nah-chee with eighteen men, fourteen women, and two boys escaped” and stampeded to the hills. Lieutenant Maus immediately pursued, but without success.

The remainder of the “prisoners” continued to Fort Bowie, having been joined en route by two of the men who had fled with Geronimo. The actual surrender of these Indians occurred upon their arrival at Fort Bowie, where they were disarmed and placed under guard, and on April 7th all of these prisoners left Fort Bowie for Fort Marion, Florida. This party consisted of fifteen men, thirty-three women, and twenty-nine children—a total of seventy-seven, and included the two wives and three children of Geronimo and the family of Nah-chee, as well as Chihuahua and his brother Josanie, who led “The Raid of the Bloody Eleven” during November and December, 1885, and who were reputed to be among the ablest and most dangerous of the Chiricahua renegades.

Although Geronimo and Nah-chee with eighteen other renegades were still at large, General Crook’s final campaign against the hostile Apaches was not devoid of most beneficial results. He had demonstrated to these defiant marauders that it was the determined purpose of the United States to pursue them relentlessly and ultimately to destroy them — unless they capitulated. This fact, together with the removal of the families to Florida — particularly those of Geronimo and Nah-chee — caused a psychological reaction in the minds of the renegades which made it comparatively easy, six months later, for General Miles to persuade Geronimo and Nah-chee to consent to join their exiled families in Florida.

Although the “terms of surrender” had been accepted by General Crook at El Cañon de los Embudos on March

26th, this information did not reach the authorities at Washington until March 30th, Immediately, General Sheridan took the matter up with President Cleveland, and later on the same date (March 30, 1886) General Sheridan telegraphed General Crook that "the President could not assent to the surrender of the hostiles on a basis of two years' imprisonment in the East and then a return to the Arizona reservation."

Meantime Geronimo and Nah-chee with eighteen men had returned to the war-path, and, after due consideration, it was decided that the remainder of the hostiles who had surrendered to General Crook, and who were disarmed and placed under proper guard upon their arrival at Fort Bowie, on April 2nd, should be sent on to Fort Marion, and they left Fort Bowie on April 7th as before stated.

It appears that at this time a difference of opinion arose between General Sheridan and General Crook as to the efficiency of the Indian scouts, and it is not improbable that General Crook was somewhat depressed because of the failure of his efforts to "manage the Apaches in his own way." Be that as it may, General Crook, at his own request, was relieved of the command of the Department of Arizona and was succeeded by General Nelson A. Miles, who arrived at Fort Bowie the latter part of April, 1886.

Referring to the achievement of his predecessor, General Miles says: "General Crook had for years been trying to subjugate them (the hostiles) and bring them under control." The new commander ignored the fact that the citizens of Tucson had tendered a banquet to General Crook in honor of his capture of Geronimo in 1883. Four years later, there was a spirited controversy in the eastern press between these two veteran Indian fighters in which each commented on his rival's campaign against Geronimo in caustic fashion.

At the time General Miles assumed command in Arizona the latter part of April, 1886, the hostiles then at large numbered twenty-three. Geronimo and Nah-chee

had eighteen men with them, and Mangus, who had separated from Geronimo in August, 1885, had two men with him. But General Crook states that at this time the whereabouts of Mangus and his followers were not known, and there was "no evidence that his band had had any part in the recent outrages." Therefore it may be said that *the hostiles numbered only twenty*, for it was the party under Geronimo and Nah-chiee who were the potent factors in the campaign, and who lent zest and action to the operations in the field.

General Miles fell heir to the 3000 troops and 300 Indian scouts recently commanded by General Crook, and immediately he started another "drive" against this band of twenty valient warriors who were defying the armies of the United States and Mexico. The General announced that his plan of campaign would be that of "constantly pursuing" and "finally wearing them down," — which was quite the same method that had been employed by General Crook. Captain W. H. Lawton, a resolute, brave officer, was placed in command of the troops that were to take up the pursuit of the Indians south of the Mexican border. Captain Lawton started this pursuit in May, 1886, with thirty-five cavalry, twenty infantry, twenty Apache scouts, two pack trains, three lieutenants, and Surgeon Leonard Wood. The pack trains were capable of carrying two months' rations.

Early in his report General Miles emphasizes the deadly character of his foe by calling attention to the fact that "during the year the hostile Indians had killed 140 persons." Obviously his troops continued to guard every water-hole and mountain pass and Indian trail north of the Mexican line, and to this arrangement he added detachments from the Signal Service who were "stationed on the highest peaks and prominent lookouts" for the purpose of flashing messages to the various camps giving information relative to the movements of the hostiles. His plan of pursuit was that of a *relay race* on the part of the

troops, and his general orders announced that, "commanding officers are expected to continue a pursuit until capture, or until assured a fresh command is on the trail."

The effectiveness of the "relay race" plan was speedily given an acid test, for General Miles tells us that after committing some depredations in Mexico, "the hostiles swept northward, and on April 27th invaded our territory, passing down the Santa Cruz valley, stealing stock and killing a few citizens." Captain Lebo was quickly on the trail, and after a pursuit of 200 miles, he attacked the renegades in the Pinito mountains, Sonora, with the result that Corporal Scott was wounded. The trail of the retreating hostiles was soon taken up by Lieutenant Benson, who pursued "south and west." Their trail was again taken up by Captain Lebo's command, and later by Captain Lawton, and finally the hostiles were intercepted by the command under Captain Hatfield "which had been placed east of Santa Cruz, Sonora," for that purpose. An engagement followed in which twenty horses were captured. But the report tells us that "unfortunately, while passing west in a canyon, embarrassed with the captured horses," the hostiles attacked the command and killed one soldier. Thereupon Lieutenant Brown "pursued easterly *with good effect*" — whatever that may mean. The hostiles *then separated into two parties*.

Thus far the "relay race plan" had succeeded in reducing the number of the hostiles opposing them to *nineteen*, for the report tells us that during the fight with Captain Hatfield one of the renegades, who had been slightly wounded, became separated from the main party and fled north to Fort Apache (250 miles) where he surrendered on June 28th. Just how nineteen were divided between the two parties is not stated, but the activities of the troops were doubled for the reason that now there were *two relay races* in progress simultaneously.

One of these small bands moved "north through the Dragoon mountains" pursued by Lieutenants Brett, Hunt,

Read, Freeman, Watson, Hughes, Shipp, Dean, Ruthers, and Captain Norvell — and “when near Fort Apache all of the horses then in the hands of the raiding party were captured by Captain Morrison.” The Indians then turned south and the pursuit was continued “by troops under Captain Smith, Captain Doane, Lieutenant Wilder and others.” *“They finally recrossed the Mexican border.”*

The other band was “followed west” by Lieutenant Brown and Captain Lawton and “north” by Captain Wood, Lieutenant Davis, Captain Lebo, and Lieutenant Clark to the Catalina mountains, where the hostiles were attacked by a company of citizens led by Marano Samaniego and “Bob” Leatherwood (my former neighbors at Tucson), who succeeded in recovering a boy who had been captured by the Indians. The band was then “pressed south” by Captain Lebo, Lieutenant Davis, Captain Lawton, and Lieutenant Bigelow, and “finally intercepted” in the Patagonia mountains by Lieutenant Walsh, where they suffered the loss of “equipment and stock.” They were then pursued by Captain Lawton and Captain Mac Adams *“into Sonora for the second time.”*

Commenting on the results achieved in these strenuous relay races, General Miles makes the following gracious comment: “These movements occurred in the districts commanded by Colonels Royal, Shafter, Wade, and Mills, who made excellent disposition of their troops.” Which is a genteel way of admitting that this “excellent disposition” of the troops *failed to dispose of a single hostile* — unless we must except the wounded warrior who, for forty-five days, wandered alone through their lines and around their camps and finally surrendered at Fort Apache, after having traveled an air-line distance of 250 miles.

With all of the nineteen hostiles once more in Mexico the relay races north of the line were at an end, and General Miles tells us that he took advantage of this period of “temporary peace” to make a personal investigation rel-

ative to the Apache "prisoners of war" interned at Fort Apache.

The reader will recall that I "discovered" Geronimo at Apache Pass in June, 1876, where, for nearly four years, he had been drawing rations with the Chiricahuas under Cochise (later under Tah-zay and Nah-chee), and that in April, 1877, I arrested and shackled Geronimo at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, where he was "visiting" and drawing rations with the Warm Springs (Mescalero) Apaches under Victorio, and that I removed the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Indians to San Carlos and assigned them adjoining locations in the Gila valley. This record is recalled for the purpose of impressing three facts, viz: that a close friendship existed between the Indians under Cochise, Victorio, and Geronimo; that often these bands were allies on the war-path, and that in subsequent campaigns against the Apache hostiles for nearly a decade the renegades were recruited from those three bands, as witness such names as Victorio, Geronimo, Nah-chee, Chihuahua, Nana, Chatto, Josanie, Loco, and others.

When I retired from the official direction of affairs at San Carlos there were approximately 5000 Indians on taht reservation. In the reports of subsequent "outbreaks" the public has been allowed to infer that the entire mass of 5000 Indians were involved. The truth is less spectacular. Not more than ten per cent of the total were *even related* to the hostiles, and that percentage was represented by the Chiricahuas and the Warm Springs — about 500. And I am justified in saying that out of that 500 less than ten per cent would prove actively insubordinate, and that whether this number of defiant disturbers of the peace totaled twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty — these easily could have been controled, suppressed, imprisoned, or killed by the San Carlos Apache Police under sympathetic, wise, and firm direction.

General Crook, recognizing the fact that the renegades came from the ranks of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs

Indians, had removed those bands from the Gila valley to Fort Apache where they were being detained as prisoners of war under the supervision of the commanding officer of that post.

Colonel Wade was then in command at Fort Apache. On May 3rd, General Miles had a conference with Colonel Wade at Fort Thomas relative to the situation at Fort Apache. As a result of that conference General Miles directed Colonel Wade "to exert his utmost energy to bring those Indians under control." The situation as reported did not look good to the commanding general, and so on July 1st, taking advantage of the "temporary peace," General Miles made a personal visit to Fort Apache, and the appalling details of the astounding conditions which he found prevailing among the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs are set forth in his annual report as follows:

"I found over 400 men, women and children, and a more turbulent, dissipated body of Indians I have never met. Some of them, chiefly women, were industrious, but most of their earnings went for trifles and 'tiswin' drunks. Riots and bloodshed were not infrequent. These Indians were *on paper* prisoners of war, but they had never been disarmed or dismounted, and the stillness of the nights was often broken by the discharge of rifles and pistols in their savage orgies. The indolent and vicious young men and boys were just the material to furnish warriors for the future, and these people, although fed and clothed by the government, had been conspiring against its authority. They had been in communication with the hostiles, and some of them had been plotting an extensive outbreak."

Hello? Hello? Yes, that was General Miles, himself, speaking officially as the Commander of the Department of Arizona. What a fierce arraignment of General Crook's methods of dealing with insolent, turbulent, and defiant renegades and "prisoners of war — on paper!" And it is obvious that Colonel Wade would be able to extract for

himself a mere minimum of satisfaction — or less — from this report.

Fort Apache was within the limits of the San Carlos reservation, and since 1883, General Crook, or "the officer authorized to act under him," had been "entrusted with the entire police control of all the Indians" on that reservation; with "the control of all prisoners," and the duty of "keeping the peace, administering justice, punishing refractory Indians," and "preventing the Indians from leaving" the reservation. In these circumstances it is impossible to explain — much less justify — the deplorable conditions reported existing at Fort Apache on July 1, 1886. It further developed that some of those "prisoners of war" had "committed scores of murders," and that "warrants for their arrests were awaiting" service, and that the culprits were thus being sheltered "from the just and legal action of the civil courts."

On July 1, 1886, the garrison at Fort Apache consisted of three troops of cavalry and two companies of infantry, and in order to enable Colonel Wade to bring his defiant renegade prisoners of war "under control," General Miles immediately ordered one troop of cavalry from San Carlos, two troops from Fort Thomas, and one troop from Alma, N. M., to proceed to Fort Apache, thus giving Colonel Wade a force of seven troop of cavalry and two companies of infantry. With this considerable force Colonel Wade was eventually able to bring his aggregation of well armed, well mounted, drunken, riotous, insolent *star desperados and murderers* — his prisoners of war — "*under control.*"

About two months later, on the recommendation of General Miles and the approval of the authorities at Washington, Colonel Wade rounded up the entire population of this *renegade-breeding-and-supply-camp* — a total of 381 men, women, and children — and escorted them to Florida, leaving Fort Apache on September 7th and arriving at Fort Marion on September 20, 1886.

During this period, Captain F. E. Pierce was in command at San Carlos, and "in charge of the civil administration of the agency by special order of the President." If this supreme military control of the San Carlos reservation from 1883 until 1886 had been efficiently and effectively administered in the matter of "keeping the peace, administering justice, and punishing refractory Indians," and if their pampered "prisoners of war on paper" had been dismounted and disarmed and securely guarded, and those "principals" who were known to have "committed scores of murders" and for whom "warrants of arrest were awaiting," had been speedily delivered over to "the just and legal action of the civil courts" — if these very plain but very important duties had been performed with an even justice to all — then it would not have been necessary to exile the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches to Florida. But in view of the deplorable situation disclosed by the visit of General Miles to Fort Apache on July 1, 1886, he, doubtless, felt that exile would prove the speediest and surest remedy. Transported to Florida, their reign of insolence, terror, rapine, and murder would be forever at an end. Simple justice to the citizens of the territory *as well as to the great mass of orderly Apaches on the reservation* demanded some heroic action — and General Miles met that demand.

Mexico was the scene of the final activities in this campaign. General Miles says that "in the encounters with the troops, the Indians were always defeated, but made good their escape." The term "defeated" seems a bit indefinite in this connection, but the admission that the hostiles always "made good their escape" is a splendid compliment to the "defeated nineteen" when we remember that they were fighting about 3000 soldiers and 300 Indian scouts of the American army, and an unknown number of Mexican troops.

The wounded warrior who fled north after the Hatfield fight arrived at Fort Apache June 23th — just in time to inform General Miles that the hostiles were "in an

exhausted condition when he left." The General at once sent this Indian, in charge of Lieutenant Gatewood, back into Mexico for the purpose of getting in touch with the hostiles and, if possible, inducing them to surrender. In the meantime, the troops operating in Mexico were doing their utmost to keep the renegades on the move with the purpose of further "wearing them out." Soon after his arrival in Mexico, Lieutenant Gatewood succeeded in communicating with Geronimo, and, incidentally, it may be stated that Lieutenant Gatewood deserved far more credit for his services in this campaign than ever was accorded him. Finally Geronimo came into Captain Lawton's camp the latter part of August, and it was then arranged that a conference should be held with General Miles at the mouth of Skeleton Canyon, near the international line and about 65 miles from Fort Bowie.

It appears that about this time the matter of the disposition of the Apache renegades was again under consideration by the highest authorities at Washington, for, on August 23, 1886, President Cleveland sent the following comment to the Secretary of War: "I hope nothing will be done with Geronimo which will prevent our treating him as prisoner of war, if we cannot hang him, which I would much prefer."

These words of caution indicate that President Cleveland had reason to fear that General Miles, in his great anxiety to effect the surrender of the hostiles, would offer them terms most inconsistent with their crimes.

The agreement to meet General Miles operated as another armistice. Some time was consumed in communicating with the General and determining details. Then, as the report tells us, "for eleven days, Captain Lawton's command moved north, Geronimo's and Nah-chee's camp moving parallel and frequently camping near it." In this independent fashion the troops and the hostiles reached the meeting point agreed upon. General Miles arrived in Captain Lawton's camp at the mouth of Skeleton Canyon

on September 3, 1886, and the records shows that the renegades "surrendered" to him on the following day.

In his "Memoirs" published in the "Cosmopolitan," General Miles says: "Geronimo sent word to Lawton that he would surrender to the highest authority. I went down to Skeleton Canyon, near the Mexican line, and there met Captain Lawton's command with the Indians camped a short distance away. Geronimo came to me and asked what disposition would be made of him in case he surrendered. He said if they were all to be killed he *might as well die fighting*. He was told that he must surrender as a prisoner of war; that **WE DID NOT KILL OUR PRISONERS**, and that their future would depend upon the orders of the President at Washington."

On this subject Colonel McClintock states in his history (page 264) that "General Miles made no concessions except that the Indians should be joined by their families," and that "*after the theoretical surrender Nah-chee and Geronimo kept their arms and started independently for the border.*"

It must be admitted that my good friend, Colonel McClintock, recorded a mouthful, as the saying goes, in those two brief sentences. They furnish abundant food for reflection. Once more these renegade "prisoners of war" *retained their arms* and started "independently" for the border. Furthermore, the concession noted by Arizona's historian was, probably, the "only final" concession made by General Miles at that time, for, assuredly, he had already included far more important concessions in his "terms of surrender."

Did not General Miles assure these renegades that if they would consent to surrender to him and go to Florida their lives would be spared; that all of their crimes — that long, black record of pillage and murder — would be condoned, and that the "Great White Father at Washington" would protect them and provide for them throughout the remainder of their lives-? Did not the Great White Father

at Washington subsequently acquiesce in all the terms and concessions made to these renegades at this time by General Miles (with a single exception), and faithfully observe the same — even to this day? Does not this “treaty of peace” with this band of desperate Apache criminals stand out as the one conspicuous example wherein our great American government has literally kept faith with the Indians?

In his book, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, the renegade says that General Miles promised him that he should join his family at Fort Marion in four or five days; that he would given lands and houses and horses and cattle and implements, and that he, himself, would not have to work as long as he lived. Naturally, Geronimo protested that his confinement, at hard labor, at Fort Pickens for several months before he was allowed to join his family, was a flagrant violation of his terms of surrender. Granting this to be true, it must be admitted that the extraordinary privileges and emoluments subsequently granted him throughout the two decades he was detained as a prisoner of war, abundantly offset any physical fatigue or mental anguish he may have suffered during his brief exile at Fort Pickens.

The press agents had rendered heroic service to the military throughout the campaign by their graphic descriptions of the hardships endured by the troops and the desperate character of their savage foes, and General Miles sought to make the final scene in the sorry drama the most spectacular event of his military career by broadcasting the impression that he had succeeded in crushing the ferocious monster, Geronimo, and had forced him and his desperate band to an *UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER*.

At that time Major General O. O. Howard was in command of the Division of the Pacific, which included the Department of Arizona. In these circumstances it was the duty of General Miles to report to General Howard, his

immediate superior officer. He also reported to Lieutenant General Sheridan at Washington.

In his report dated from the Presidio, September 24, 1886, General Howard says: "I believed at first from official reports that the surrender was unconditional, except that the troops themselves would not kill the hostiles." . . . "Now the conditions are plain; that the lives of all the Indians should be spared, and that they should be sent to Fort Marion, Florida, where the tribe, including their families, had already been ordered." From the foregoing it is obvious that General Howard had no thought of any "terms," other than an unconditional surrender, and that, for a time, he was *mised by official reports* into believing that such were the terms agreed upon.

The Secretary of War in his annual report (page 13) states that advices of the surrendered reached the President and other authorities at Washington on September 7th, "*and from information received on that date the surrender was supposed to be unconditional.*" Immediately, "the President ordered that all the hostiles be kept safely as prisoners *until they could be tried for their crimes.*" Two days later (September 9th) the authorities at Washington were startled by the information that, contrary to the President's orders, the Indians "were already en-route to Florida." At once, by direction of the President, General Sheridan telegraphed instructions to "stop the prisoners at San Antonio, Texas, *and hold them securely until further orders.*"

General Miles purposely allowed a dazzling aurora of the spectacular to obscure the facts in connection with the final terms of capitulation granted by him to this little band of nineteen "worn out," but "defiant," Apache renegades under the leadership of Geronimo and Nah-chee, and this willing dimming of the truth may be rated as another unpardonable sin.

Immediately preceding the final surrender of Geronimo, General Miles' startling psychology in dealing with

Indian criminals was clearly recorded by himself in connection with the history of the "Lucky Thirteen," — a delegation consisting of ten men and three women of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches from Fort Apache — who were permitted to visit Washington in response to General Miles' telegraphic plea of "strong military reasons." "This delegation *contained some of the most dangerous of the Chiricahuas.*" They were under the charge of Captain Dorst, and were promised safe conduct to Washington *and return.* The purpose was to arrange for the removal of those bands at Fort Apache to some point outside of Arizona. The mission failed and the delegation was ordered back to Fort Apache. To this General Miles protested vigorously, and succeeded in having the Indians detained at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, notwithstanding the promise that they should return to Arizona. In defending his protest the general said: "They were independent and defiant, and their return to the mountains about Fort Apache would have been worse than the letting loose of that number of wild beasts."

With the "Lucky Thirteen" thus safely interned in Kansas, General Miles arranged a conference with Captain Dorst at Albuquerque, New Mexico, at which he *directed* the captain to "return to Fort Leavenworth and inform those Indians "that they could be *friendly treaty Indians*, or individuals; that they could conform to the wishes of the government, and consent to a peaceable removal (of their entire bands) from these territories, or they could return *and be held responsible for their crimes.* As the *principals had committed scores of murders*, and warrants for their arrest *were awaiting* them, and they could not expect *the military to shelter them from the just and legal action of the civil courts*, the effect of *this plain talk* was the absolute submission of the Indians. They agreed to go to any place I might designate, there to wait until such time as *the government should provide them with a permanent reservation*,

and *funds, domestic stock and utensils*, by which they could become self-sustaining."

One of our ablest statesman recently remarked that "when we are in a position to compel, we do not demand," and inasmuch as this bunch of "worse-than-wild-beasts" desperados, who "had committed scores of murders," were then *bona fide prisoners* — disarmed and interned at the Kansas fort — the threats and promises made to them by General Miles appear to be without justification. And yet, in his "plain talk" he *warned them* that unless they agreed to consider themselves as "friendly treaty Indians" and accepted from the government the many good things he promised them, — **THEY WOULD BE HANGED FOR THEIR CRIMES.** It is not remarkable that the result was "absolute submission" on the part of the Indians.

Obviously, the "scores of murders" had been committed by "the principals" a considerable time prior to their departure for the visit to Washington at government expense and under military protection, and, in view of this fact, the startling question arises — unbidden —: How long and to what degree had these "on paper prisoners of war" been *sheltered by the military* at Fort Apache "from the just and legal action of the civil courts?"

General Crook sent the leaders of the "Bloody Eleven" to Florida in April, and now, after having headed the "Lucky Thirteen" in the same direction, General Miles devoted himself to the task of formulating acceptable terms of capitulation with the "Elusive Nineteen."

The hostiles had not made any overtures of surrender, but when General Miles was informed that they were in an exhausted condition he sent Lieutenant Gatewood on a trek of 250 or 300 miles from Fort Apache to seek out the renegade camp in Mexico and induce the Indians to capitulate. Not being "in a position to compel," he "demanded" an *unconditional surrender*. Lieutenant Gatewood found the hostiles and delivered his ultimatum. The Indians replied that they would surrender only on the same

terms granted them by General Crook — all of which meant that they would be allowed to retain their arms and their liberty and to return to the reservation without penalty of any sort. A few days later Captain Lawton repeated the same demand to the hostiles and received the same reply from them. About two weeks later the final conference was at Skeleton Canyon, where Geronimo told General Miles very plainly that unless they were granted satisfactory terms they would "*die fighting.*"

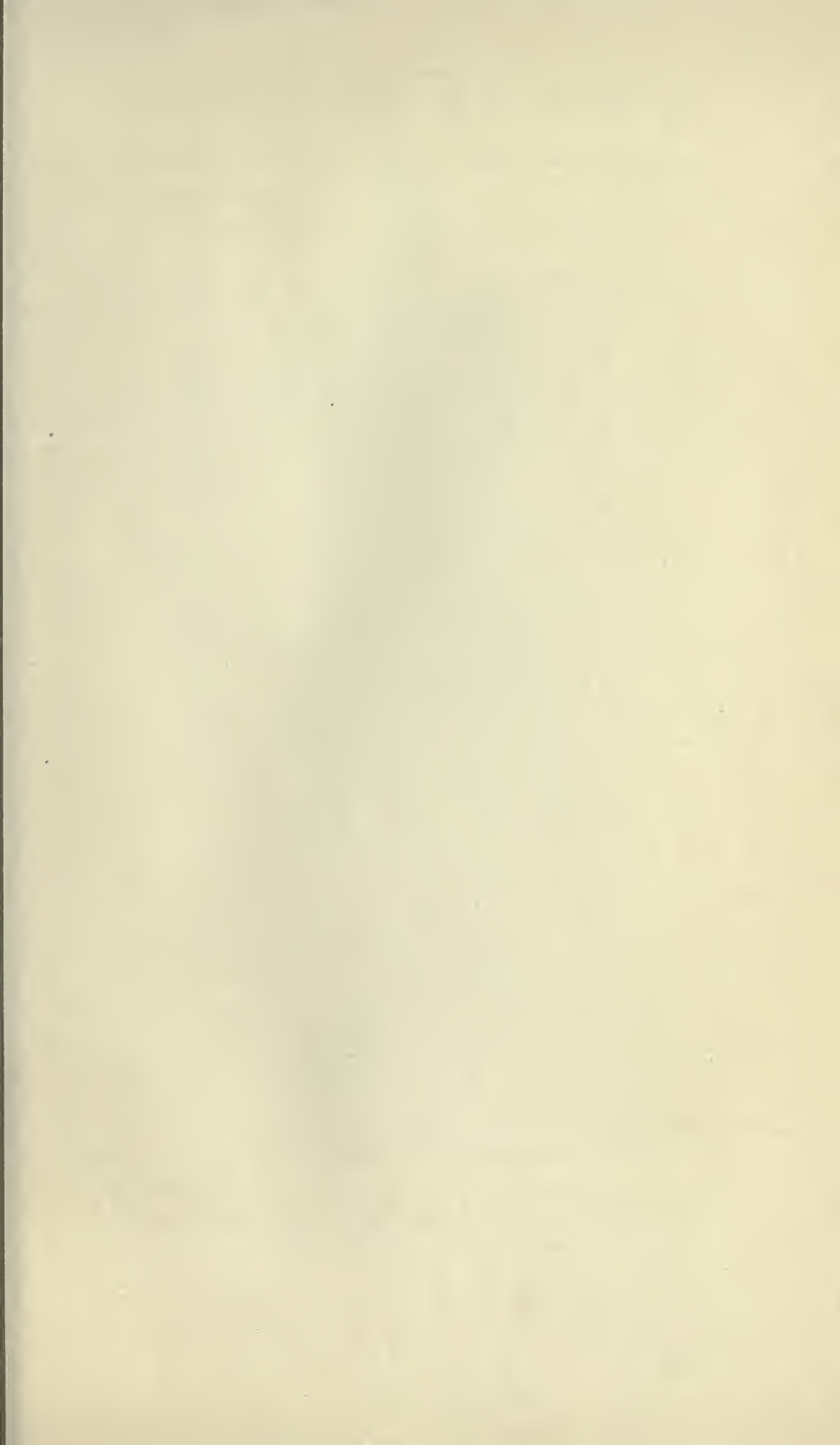
Unfortunately, General Miles has not left us a true copy of the terms he offered to the hostiles assembled at Skeleton Canyon, but the known facts, together with the "terms" which he directed Captain Dorst to offer to the "Bloody Eleven," justifies the assumption that he addressed the "Elusive Nineteen" substantially as follows: "The United States is a great and powerful nation. Our troops and those of Mexico have pursued you relentlessly, and if you persist on the war-path the pursuit will also persist, and sooner or later you will all be destroyed. You know this will happen. Although you have eluded these troops for months, you know that your small band of only nineteen cannot successfully oppose the armies of two nations for an indefinite period. You have already endured many hardships, and you live in a state of perpetual fear and danger, and this situation will continue to grow worse as long as you follow the war-path. You know that the families of Geronimo and Nah-chee and some of the rest of you have been at Fort Marion, Florida, since last April, where they are well cared for, and I have just ordered Colonel Wade to remove all of your relatives and friends — about 400 — from Fort Apache to Fort Marion. Thus you see that nearly 500 of your relatives and friends — all Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches — will be at Fort Marion within a very short time, where they will be protected and provided for but none will ever be able to join your band, or give you any assistance. I cannot take you back to the San Carlos reservation, but I can take you to Fort Marion

where you will be re-united with your families and friends. I am sure you believe that I have spoken the truth, and that my words have sounded good in your ears, and that they have already caused a friendly feeling in your hearts — so that now all of you are in a mood to listen without suspicion to the terms I am about to offer you. Captain Lawton and Lieutenant Gatewood and I, as you know, are officers in the United States Army. We speak the truth. We are honorable men. *We do not kill our prisoners.* Therefore listen to my last words with good ears and friendly hearts, for these are the terms I offer you. That you shall surrender to me here and now as *friendly treaty Indians*; that you shall consent to go at once to join your families and friends at Fort Marion — about four or five days' travel from Bowie station — there to wait until such time as the government shall provide you with a permanent reservation, and funds, domestic stock, and utensils by which you may become self-supporting."

This sort or a persuasive and convincing talk would be a proper argument to be advanced by one who *assumed the moral right to transform Indian criminals — multi-murderers, into friendly treaty Indians* by a mere flash of some mystic power with which his sinuous psychology had augmented his official authority as Department Commander.

In fact, it does not appear that General Miles was inclined to be any more rude in his treatment of the renegades than General Crook had been. Nevertheless, he finally succeeded in persuading this motley band of worn-out and hungry Apaches to consent to leave Arizona, and — when they were ready to board the train — to surrender their arms, inasmuch as they were going to a country where they would have no use for such offensive and defensive weapons.

However, in any comparison of this nature we must not overlook the fact that General Crook actually led a campaign into Mexico in person, while General Miles permitted





NAH-CHEE, SON OF COCHISE

Nah-chee was the Hereditary Chief of the Chiricahua
Apaches. Taken in March, 1886

Captain Lawton and his command to do all the hard work, reserving for himself the hazardous tasks of making concessions to the renegades, and later — accepting the gold sword.

Concerning the personalities of Geronimo and Nah-
chee General Miles says :

There seldom appeared a more ruthless marauder than Geronimo. He had the most determined face and piercing eye that I have ever seen. Natchez (Nah-
chee) was the hereditary chief of the Apaches, a tall, slender young warrior, whose dignity and grace of movement would become any prince.

Geronimo and those taken with him entrained at Bowie Station, about fifteen miles northwest from Apache Pass. At San Antonio, Texas, this party was halted and removed to Fort Sam Houston, where they were detained for about six weeks, a time during which General Miles was kept very busy explaining his "terms of surrender" to the higher authorities at Washington — and the said high authorities were equally busy endeavoring to decide what they were going to do about it.

And now let us read another thrilling chapter which is recorded on pages 13 and 14 of the annual report of the Honorable Secretary of War as follows :

"The terms and conditions attending this surrender were such that Geronimo and those of his band who had committed murders and acts of violence in Arizona and New Mexico could not properly be handed over to the civil authorities for punishment, *as was intended by the President*, and therefore, on the 19th day of October, orders were issued, by direction of the President, that Geronimo and the fourteen Apache adult Indians captured with him, should be sent from San Antonio, Texas, under proper guard, to Fort Pickens, Florida, there to be kept in close custody until further orders."

"The Indians had been guilty of the worst crimes

known to the law, committed under circumstances of great atrocity, and the public safety required that they should be removed far from the scenes of their depredations and guarded with the strictest vigilance."

Can you beat it? Who sheltered these criminals from the just and legal action of the civil courts? And do you recall the situation at Fort Apache as disclosed by General Miles? There were those "principals" who had "committed scores of murders," masquerading as prisoners of war under the protection of the military, but absolutely out of control, fully armed, well mounted, dissipated, turbulent, indulging in savage, mid-night orgies, riot and bloodshed, conspiring against the authority of the government, and *free at any moment to pounce upon the unprotected citizens of Arizona.* Such was the situation at Fort Apache on July 1, 1886. The following October, when the last of the renegades had been interned at Fort Pickens, Florida, then "*the public safety*" demanded that they should be guarded with the strictest vigilance." Can you beat it?

Geronimo and Nah-chee and the thirteen other hostiles who were included in the final surrender reached Fort Pickens, Florida, October 26, 1886, and the eleven women and children belonging to this party arrived at Fort Marion the same date. Mangus with two men and eight women and children surrendered at Fort Apache about the middle of October. The eight women and children were sent to Fort Marion, and Mangus and one man reached Fort Pickens on November 6th, — the other man having died enroute.

The official records show that on November 30, 1886, there were 448 men, women, and children belonging to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs bands detained as prisoners of war at Fort Marion. Seventeen men were confined at Fort Pickens, and forty-four children were at the Carlisle Indian School.

The world-wide advertised campaign against Geronimo was far from being a desperate, bloody warfare. On the

contrary, it was little more than a relay-race on the part of the troops — in which but few of them ever even saw a hostile. The fighting force of the renegades was, comparatively, very small. General Crook commanded 3000 troops and 300 Indian scouts, and was opposed by forty-two warriors. When General Miles assumed command of the American forces he was opposed by twenty warriors. The raiding parties of the hostiles were small — usually from a half-dozen to a dozen. Likewise, the pursuing troops were divided into small commands, and these, when fatigued, were relieved by fresh troops whenever possible. The hostiles simply had to *keep on going*. There was never anything like a decisive engagement. The Apache scouts — who always served as the faithful and efficient pathfinders and advance guard for the troops — occasionally surprised a renegade camp and exchanged shots with the hostiles, but the troops were seldom on the firing line. The activities of the troops involved a maximum of trailing and a minimum of fighting. In the campaign under General Miles the casualties among the soldiers totaled two — one killed and one wounded. The casualties to the hostiles were nil. The heavy mortality was among the citizens — *the non-combatants*. General Crook says the “Bloody Eleven” murdered thirty-eight citizens within four weeks. General Miles says “during the year the hostile Indians had killed 140 persons.” If the term “persons” includes soldiers and Indian scouts, these would represent a very small percentage of the total killed.

This situation furnished the drabest sort of material for the army of ambitious press agents. They craved the stuff that reeked with the dramatic, romantic, heroic, picturesque, and spectacular, and so they pictured the gruelling marches, the burning sands, the blistering sun, the rugged mountain trails, and the ferocious character of the hostile Apache demons — whom only a very few of the valiant pursuers ever had even a glimpse of. And thus during the last four decades this host of romantic press

agents and their successors have succeeded in broadcasting the impression that anyone in any way connected with these military campaigns against Geronimo is, automatically, entitled to recognition as an *Indian Fighter* of heroic proportions.

General Crook and General Miles each brought to Arizona a well earned and enviable military record, and it is most regrettable that both of these records should have been marred by fruitless endeavors to appear as a spectacular pseudo-hero in connection with the pursuit and subjugation of a small band of hostile Apaches under the renegade leadership of Geronimo. A similar ambition on the part of younger officers would be readily understood. From the close of the Civil War in 1865 until the beginning of the war with Spain in 1898, the only opportunity for an army officer to make an honest-to-goodness "military record" for himself was as "*An Indian Fighter*" — and, believe me, they made the most of every such opportunity. It would be highly entertaining to know how many promotions and pensions have been dealt out by our gullible government as "rewards" for "services in the campaigns against Geronimo," — and the end is not yet reached.

It is true that, occasionally, a command in pursuit of the hostiles executed a "gruelling march," but what frontiersman has not done the same — without pay, or hope of promotion and pension? Moreover, if these troops had not been trailing Geronimo they would have been vegetating at the Army Posts — with no "opportunities." On the trail they had fresh air and sunshine and healthful exercise — and *opportunities* — and friendly press agents to exaggerate the "hardships," well knowing that every exaggeration was an added boost toward promotion.

Another thing. We have heard much of the "gruelling marches" and "tests of endurance" by the troops on the trail of Geronimo, — but listen! A group of hikers are engaged in a transcontinental marathon contest from Los Angeles to New York. At this writing fifty-five contest-

ants are still in the game. They are now in Pennsylvania, 73 days out from Los Angeles, and have walked 2900 miles. This is an average of 40 miles per day for 73 consecutive days — and they are still going strong. The remarkable record established by these men *on foot* make the much advertised “tests of endurance” performed by the mounted troops look like “daily dozens” in a kindergarten.

Frequently it has been asked why the citizens of Arizona submitted to this system of persistent protection and perpetual pardoning of the Apache renegades? As a matter of fact, there were many vigorous — even violent — protests, but these were utterly unavailing for the reason that at that time General Crook had the authority and the force “to manage the Apaches in his own way.” In the circumstances it is not surprising that the citizens should, at times, become almost desperate.

At least once within my personal experience they reached a state of mind that was positively dangerous — when the thirst for revenge dethroned reason. As hereinbefore stated, I was living in Tombstone in May, 1885, when Geronimo and his followers made their last break from the reservation and fled past Tombstone into Mexico. Immediately following that outbreak there was intense excitement in and about Tombstone, and a deplorable movement developed which had for its object the organization of a strong force of citizens who were to march forthwith to the San Carlos reservation and there slaughter every Indian they met. It was not popular, nor altogether safe, to oppose this movement; but I did, and on May 28, 1885, I published a signed article in the *Tombstone Epitaph* calling attention to the fact that of the, approximately, 5000 Indians then on the San Carlos reservation, a large majority had been on that reservation and at peace for more than ten years, while fully half of them had not been on the war path for upwards of twenty years. I warned my fellow citizens that the guilty parties were then “safe from any attack that might be made upon the reservation”;

that the proper parties to attack were "the renegades, 'the prisoners of war,' and those who had thus stupidly and criminally allowed them their liberty." The following are excerpts from my published statement:

It is most remarkable that these desperate renegades, after being held as 'prisoners of war' for over a year, should suddenly take the war-path better equipped than ever before.

I believe the majority of the Indians at San Carlos are in no way connected with or responsible for our present Indian troubles, and I as fully believe that the men — both civil and military — who have thus repeatedly given Geronimo and his followers their liberty, knowing their desperate character and the murders they have committed, are equally guilty — are accomplices before the fact — in all the murders committed by these savage renegades who could have been and should have been shot or hung six years ago.

Arizona cannot afford to massacre 4,000 or 5,000 peaceably inclined Indians because white men, whose duty it was to guard and punish renegades, have so shamelessly failed in their duty.²

The smallness or greatness and the fact that the human family is often actuated by emotion rather than reason are aptly illustrated by the manner in which the citizens of Tucson, Arizona, expressed their appreciation of the services rendered by General Crook and General Miles in their respective campaigns against Geronimo. After the return of General Crook from Mexico in 1883, a public reception and banquet was tendered him at Tucson in recognition and honor of his "capture of Geronimo" and his desperate gang. Again, on November 8, 1887, the citizens of Tucson celebrated another and more recent "capture of Geronimo" with a brilliant reception and banquet at which General Miles was the guest of honor, at the same time giving

2. About a month after appearing in the Epitaph the statement above referred to as published in full in one of the local papers of Washington, D. C.



GERONIMO

From a Portrait by E. A. Burbank

further expression to their exuberance of gratitude and kowtowitis by presenting the General with a Tiffany sword. In his "Memoirs" General Miles admits that the sword was an exceedingly handsome one. In describing it he says: "The Damascus blade, grip, and large India star sapphire are the only parts of the sword and scabbard not made of gold. Its beauty of design and most artistic workmanship render it a treasure as well as a valuable work of art."

"Geronimo's Story of his Life" is a blood-stained narrative. During at least a quarter of a century he was chiefly occupied with raids of murder and pillage. He had a passion for killing and stealing, and his favorite pastime was raiding in Mexico. For three decades these raids were almost annual occurrences. He admits that some of these expeditions were unsuccessful, and that he returned from one with "a very severe headache." Nevertheless, he was always eager for another dash in Mexico, and the lure of the blood-red trail evidently beckoned him to the end, for at the close of a chapter on this subject he says: "I am old and shall never go on the war-path again, but if I were young, and followed the war-path, it would lead into Old Mexico."

Geronimo says his first visit to Mexico was in 1858, with a band of Apaches under Chief Mangus-Colorado (killed at Apache Tejo, N. M., in 1883) *for the purpose of "trading."* Their camp was attacked by Mexican troops who killed many of the Indians. Returning to camp, Geronimo found his mother, his wife, and his three small children among the dead. Thereupon he vowed a revenge that was never satiated. No matter how many Mexicans were killed by his raiding parties he was still eager to slay more. He records one fight with two companies of Mexican troops (about 1875) in which every trooper was killed. Again "about 1880," their camp south of Casa Grande was attacked by twenty-four Mexican soldiers. The Indians numbered about forty warriors. All of the soldiers and twelve of the Indians were killed. Sometimes the Indians suffered

severe losses, and sometimes they carried home sufficient plunder to last the entire tribe a year. If we believe Geronimo's own story, he delighted in the business of killing and stealing — and persisted in that business. He had no other occupation. He was many times a murderer and richly deserved the hangman's noose.

The last time I saw Geronimo was at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, where I visited him in January, 1894. At that time I was connected with the Post Office Department at Washington, D. C. Soon after my return to Washington after this visit to the camp of the Chiricahuas I encountered a newspaper reporter in search of a story. That interview was published in the *Washington Evening Star* on January 29, 1894. Inasmuch as the details presented were the result of my personal observations I deem it worth while to include in this story the following excerpts from that interview:

Mr. John P. Clum, of the Post Office Department, who recently spent some time at the camp of the renegade Apaches at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, was in the lobby of the Willard Hotel last night. To a reporter for *The Star*, he said: "While I was down in Alabama I took a day off and visited the Apaches, who are now held as prisoners of war at Mount Vernon Barracks. Yes, I saw Geronimo, but he was not in irons. He did not insist on retaining the manacles which I presented him at Ojo Caliente. They were taken off soon after I left the agency in '77. You know his subsequent history. He left the reservation two or three times on raids. In 1881 and 1885 I was with parties of citizens who followed his trail to the Mexican line. In 1886, he made his final stand and surrendered to General Miles, when he and his entire band of renegades, men, women, and children, were sent to Florida. Later they were transferred to their present location in Alabama. I have always contended that the old renegade deserved a much severer punishment than he received; but that is another story, as Kipling would say.

"The mortality among these Indians for a year or two after their removal from Arizona was very great, and but

little was done to better their condition until about three years ago, when they were placed under the care of Captain Wotherspoon of the regular army. It is true that these Indians are exiled Apache renegades, but it was Captain Wotherspoon's duty to receive them as prisoners of war of a civilized nation, and his wise and humane management of this little colony of red men and the beneficial results already secured cannot be too highly commended. The Indians have been located in a permanent camp or settlement on a ridge about half a mile west of the military post. Seventy-five frame houses have been constructed, and each Indian family is now provided with a comfortable home. Each house is divided into two rooms, in one of which is a large cooking range, and in the other a comfortable fireplace. The furniture is plain, but suitable and sufficient.

"I was invited to inspect a number of the houses and was surprised at the absolute cleanliness required of and observed by these Indians. Every Saturday is house-cleaning day, and when the official inspection is made each Sunday morning there must not be found enough dust to soil a white glove. The women do creditable laundry work, and the bed linen and all the articles of wearing apparel are kept scrupulously clean. The Indians have adopted the civilized style of dress, and the men have had their hair cut short. I was told that the hair cutting was entirely voluntary. In the matter of personal cleanliness all the Indians are required to bathe at least once a week, and I was informed that Nah-chee and one or two others of the Indian soldiers take their daily bath with as much care, regularity, and evident satisfaction as the most exquisite of the famous '400.' This is certainly a marked contrast with the wild wickie-up life of a renegade."

"By the way," said Mr. Clum, "there are some interesting pages in the history of this young chief Nah-chee. His brother, Tah-zay, is buried here in the Congressional cemetery. Tah-zay was here with me in 1876, and died of pneumonia. Nah-chee shows a disposition to pulmonary trouble. The father of these boys was Cochise, the stalwart old warrior after whom Cochise County in Arizona is named.

"Company I of the 12th Infantry, U. S. A., has been enlisted from these Indians, which is commanded by Captain Wotherspoon, and Nah-chee is the first sergeant.

The company quarters, mess hall, amusement room and gymnasium are located on the same ridge with the houses, and form a part of the Indian village. Strict military discipline is observed with this company and perfect order and cleanliness was manifest. The company drills once and sometimes twice daily, and is said to be proficient in the manual of arms and company evolutions. All commands are given in English. About once a week this Indian company drills with the white troops in battalion manouvers.

"There is a guard house at the settlement, and all refractory Indians are arrested by the Indian soldiers and all prisoners are guarded by them. Geronimo now occupies the position of alcalde, or justice of the peace, and all cases of minor offences are tried before him. His decisions have given general satisfaction. He was sentenced to six months in the guard house, which is, I think, about as long a time as the old man was ever in confinement himself at any one time. There is a good school adjacent to the settlement, under the direction of two efficient teachers, where all children are afforded the advantages of an English education. About fifty of the children from this colony are now at the Carlisle school.

"These Indian prisoners of war are virtually on parole. They are not confined or guarded, and are allowed to come and go when and where they please, provided only that their conduct is proper. As I have said before, discipline is enforced by the Indians themselves. The men are allowed to work out by the day whenever they can find employment, and some of the women do washing for the soldiers.

"The Indian soldiers, of course, get the pay and allowances of regulars. Many of the women do bead and basket work, and old Geronimo picks up many a dollar by selling pictures of himself and small bows and arrows, which he embellishes with his name. He presented me with one of these bows, duly autographed, and two small arrows, but these lacked the keen-edged tip formerly used by the Apaches on the old Arizona trails. This diminutive set of toy weapons was tendered as a good will offering by Geronimo, the *justice of the peace*, and was in decided contrast with the scene at Ojo Caliente, seventeen years ago, when I wrenched that deadly needle-gun from the grasp of Geronimo, the *renegade*.

"Several other Indian chiefs, well known in Arizona and New Mexico, are at Mount Vernon. Among these are Nan-nay, now almost blind, and Chihuahua, who is badly shot up about the arms, and who is recognized as the dude and politician of the camp.

"The more recent acquisitions of the colony are Captain Chiquito and my old friend Es-kim-in-zin, whose history is as interesting as it is sad. I may tell you about him at some other time. I believe that Es-kim-in-zin is held a prisoner of war under a misapprehension of the facts, and I am satisfied that Captain Wotherspoon shares this opinion with me. Es-kim-in-zin now has charge of the Indians' gardens, and their thrifty condition reflects on his intelligence and industry.

"The future of this Indian colony is a matter of much interest. The children who came with the renegades eight years ago are now young men and women, and many children have been born since. They have no possessions, no responsibilities, no obligations, excepting that of orderly personal conduct. This isn't a satisfactory or desirable condition. They ask for farms in order that they may apply themselves and acquire possessions and independence. Some step of this kind should be taken. The transgressions of the fathers should not be visited upon the children. The Apaches are mountain Indians, and they do not like that forest section of Alabama where they can see only in one direction, and that is straight up.' "

After being held about five years at Mount Vernon Barracks, the Chiricahuas were removed to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where they were permanently established; given reasonable allotments of land, and otherwise suitably provided for.

In the meantime the name and general character of Geronimo had become so well known throughout the country that he was regarded as a *most valuable asset as an attraction at prominent public affairs* where efforts were made to secure the largest attendance possible. With this worthy object in view he was taken to the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition at Omaha in 1898; to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo in 1901, and to the

St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, and the fact that the *notorious ex-renegade Apache chief* would appear as a *special exhibit* at those expositions was widely advertised in advance, as well as during the periods when those respective expositions were in progress. The morbid public, having been duly advised of the presence of this extraordinary attraction were eager to see the genial representative of many a blood-red trail, shake hands with him, talk to him, and to purchase his photograph, or his autograph — or whatever souvenirs of a renegade character the cunning old rascal might have for sale. Geronimo, being thrifty, smiled benignly as the silver coins flowed into his ample wallet, and, being human, was greatly pleased and flattered by the attention shown him — and regarded his visits to these expositions as pretty soft assignments for a prisoner of war.

In the absence of definite information relative to the persistent assertion that Geronimo had served a term as "scout" in the regular army during the period he was detained by the government as a prisoner of war, the following interrogation was sent to the War Department: "Was Geronimo, Apache Indian, carried on the pay rolls of the War Department as a 'scout' at any time after being sent out of Arizona?" Under date of Washington, D. C., June 25, 1926, Adjutant General Robert C. Davis sent the following reply:

Nothing is found to show expressly that the Apache Chief Geronimo was ever on the pay roll of the army, but it seems probable that he was enlisted and paid as an army scout at Fort Sill, I. T., between June 11, 1897, and June 10, 1900. He was sent from Mt. Vernon Barracks to Fort Sill, where he remained until his death. The records show that one Geronimo, born in Arizona, age 63, was enlisted at Fort Sill, I. T., June 11, 1897, as an Indian scout, to serve three years, and was discharged there June 10, 1900. Geronimo, the Apache chief, died at Fort Sill February 17, 1909.

The average American citizen will accept the above

statement as showing "expressly" that for three years during the period Geronimo was held as a prisoner of war he enjoyed the rank, pay, and emoluments of a "scout" in the regular army. There was no other "Geronimo" in the list of Apaches detained at Fort Sill, and "Geronimo, born in Arizona, age 63," is a description that exactly fits Geronimo — the renegade, alias Geronimo — the prisoner of war, alias Geronimo — the Indian scout.

Recently I requested the adjutant general to advise me as to the pay received and the duties performed by Geronimo during the three years he *served his country* as an Indian scout. Under date of Washington, D. C., February 17, 1928, Adjutant General Lutz Wahl replied as follows:

Geronimo, the Apache leader, while interned at Fort Sill, Indian Territory, was enlisted there in the U. S. Army as an Indian scout. He held the rank of private during his service Indian scouts received the pay and allowances of cavalry soldiers. . . . Eleven other Indians were enlisted there as scouts at the same time. . . . The enlistment of Indians as scouts (soldiers) was authorized by Section 6 of an Act of Congress approved July 28, 1866.

Nothing is known here of any particular duties performed by Geronimo while he was an enlisted scout. He probably performed no regular duties. He was at the Omaha Exposition from September 9 to October 30, 1898.

It is interesting to note that General Wahl has eliminated such harsh designations as "renegade," "hostile" or "prisoner of war" and mildly states that "Geronimo, the Apache leader, while *interned* at Fort Sill, was enlisted in the U. S. Army as an Indian scout;" that he held the rank and received the pay and allowances of a cavalry soldier; that he probably performed no regular duties, and that during the period he was serving as a "scout" (and interned at Fort Sill) he was permitted to spend nearly two months at the Omaha Exposition.

While in Arizona, Geronimo was restricted to the spectacular dual role of renegade and prisoner of war, but

at Mt. Vernon Barracks and at Fort Sill he was advanced to a triple role in the great drama, he having acted as *justice of the peace* at the former camp, and a *scout* at Fort Sill.

In this connection I cannot resist comparing the favors shown Geronimo with the absolute neglect that has been the lot of Tau-el-cly-ee, that faithful and efficient member of the San Carlos Police Force. On December 22, 1875, Dis-a-lin, a prominent young chief, ran amuck at the San Carlos agency in a frenzied attempt to kill the agent, the chief clerk, and the chief of police. Although related to the young chief, Tau-el-cly-ee promptly shot and killed Dis-a-lin. In June, 1876, Tau-el-cly-ee was designated sergeant of the company of Apache Police that accompanied me to Apache Pass in connection with the removal of the Chiricahuas. There, with twenty men he captured the murderer Pi-on-se-nay and brought him in to the agency, and later acted as special guard while conveying Pi-on-se-nay en route to Tucson — until the prisoner was transferred to the custody of the deputy sheriffs of Pima county. These are examples of his loyal and efficient services. Nevertheless, for years, he has wandered about the mining camps of Globe and Miami, old, decrepit, almost blind — an object of charity. On several occasions I have contributed funds for the relief of Tau-el-cly-ee. He was denied a pension because he was *never enrolled in the army*. How easy it would have been to remedy this situation by enlisting Tau-el-cly-ee as an "Indian scout" — a la Geronimo. The "pay and allowances of a cavalry soldier" would have taken care of him handsomely for three years — and thereafter he would have been eligible for a pension.

Geronimo never betrayed a penchant for hard labor but he did develop a remarkable aptitude for intercepting the nimble dollar. Down at Mount Vernon Barracks, soon after he had decided that the pen is mightier than the needle-gun, he learned to print his name — using only capital letters. When I visited Mount Vernon in 1894 I found the wily Apache "justice of the peace" had established a fairly

lucrative business as a commercial publicity agent. He made small bows with two arrows. On the bow he placed his autograph. He also had autographed photographs of himself. Visitors to the barracks and travelers at the railway station were given frequent opportunities to purchase either or both of these autographed articles. Geronimo said that business was not too bad. He was acting as his own publicity agent and allowing the public to pay for it. Thereafter Geronimo always had a supply of autographed photographs to exchange for silver coins. I have been told he would sell the buttons from his coat, or sell his hat for silver coins. I don't blame him. I would do the same. Mr. Burbank paid him to sit for his portrait, and he told Mr. Barrett he would tell him the story of his life if he (Barrett) would pay him. The three years during which he drew the pay and allowances of a cavalry soldier, with no regular duties to perform, added much to his peace and prosperity, while, at the same time, his new rank and uniform as "Indian scout" served as a boost to the autograph and photograph business. But the peak of his business opportunities were the periods he was permitted to spend at the Omaha, Buffalo, and St. Louis Expositions. His presence at these big shows had been widely advertised, and the dear people wanted to see him, and to talk with him, and to trade with him — and Geronimo never neglected his own business. He says in his book that at first he did not want to go to the St. Louis World's Fair, but when assured that he would "receive good attention and protection" he consented; that permission was obtained from the President, and that he remained six months at the Fair in charge of representatives of the Indian Department.

Regarding his personal business at the Fair Geronimo says: "I sold my photographs for twenty-five cents, and was allowed to keep ten cents of this for myself. I also wrote my name for ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents, as the case might be, and kept all of that money. . . . when

I returned I had plenty of money — more than I had ever owned before.”

Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain any authentic statement as to the revenue Geronimo received in royalties or otherwise from the publication of his book, but enough has been presented to indicate that this noted Apache leader was fairly successful from a business standpoint, notwithstanding the handicap under which he labored owing to his status as a “prisoner of war.”

A number of excellent portraits of Geronimo have been painted by Mr. E. A. Burbank, an artist of rare ability. Mr. Burbank spent considerable time at Fort Sill and arranged with the noted Apache chief for several sittings. In compensation for sittings for the first two portraits Mr. Burbank says he gave Geronimo five dollars, a chair, and a sack of grain, and subsequently he paid him five dollars for each sitting of six hours. The artist and his Apache subject became great friends, and Mr. Burbank tells me that Geronimo was always genial, courteous, and frank in his manner, kind to his family, and that he met every appointment with exact promptness. And, as a matter of fact, I recognize that Mr. Burbank discovered in Geronimo traits that are characteristic of the Apache race.

The most spectacular exhibition of Geronimo was his appearance in the military parade on the occasion of the inauguration of Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States. The date was March 4, 1905. Through a singular coincidence, my son, Woodworth (born in Tucson, Arizona, the year after my capture of Geronimo in 1877) was a member of the general inaugural committee and chairman of the sub-committee on publicity, and Colonel Roosevelt's request that Geronimo should appear in the inaugural parade was made to him. The President's request was complied with. Five former noted renegade chiefs were brought to Washington, a Sioux, a Comanche, a Ute, a Blackfoot and an Apache. All dolled up in genuine dime-novel Indian toggerly, including buckskins, war-paint, and

feathers, each carrying the weapon of his choice, and mounted on prancing steeds, liberally draped and festooned according to the several asserted fashions of the respective tribes exhibited, *these five representatives of the bad actors on many a blood-stained western trail, proudly rode abreast up Pennsylvania Avenue* in front of a battalion of cadets from the Carlisle Indian School, thus forming a conspicuous section of the imposing inaugural parade.

Colonel Roosevelt suggested that these old relics of the wild and woolly war-path in contrast with the battalion of Indian cadets would indicate the progress the red man had made in the preceding quarter century, but the rough rider's well known penchant for the spectacular doubtless inspired the invitation. These heap-big war chiefs thoroughly enjoyed the distinguished honor paid them, as well as the marked interest evinced by the vast inauguration throngs, and were glad to express their appreciation and approval of the fact that the sovereign American people had chosen Colonel Roosevelt to succeed himself as the "Great White Father" at Washington.

Geronimo, who had by no means lost his cunning, availed himself of this opportunity to appeal in person to his host, the President of the United States, for a pardon, or parole, and permission to return to his old, familiar hunting grounds in Arizona. The exact phraseology of "Teddy's" diplomatic refusal to accede to the pathetic appeal of the ex-renegade Apache chief is not immediately available for convenient quotation in this narrative.

And thus it transpired that Geronimo was destined to live out the remainder of his days on the land allotted to him at Fort Sill. He is asserted to have dictated an autobiography which was published in book form. He died at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, February 17, 1909. Following are some of the press despatches announcing his death.

INDIAN CHIEF DIES AFTER BEING PRISONER
TWENTY-TWO YEARS

Fort Sill, Okla., February 17, 1909. — After twenty-two years a prisoner of war, Geronimo, the Apache chieftain, died at the Military hospital of pneumonia today. He was 86 years of age and had been critically ill forty-eight hours. His wife and three children — Lola, who lives in Omaha, and Eva and Robert, now attending the Chilocco Indian School — survive.

Geronimo and his band surrendered to Gen. Nelson A. Miles at Skeleton Canyon, Arizona, September 3, 1886, after a long chase, during which the Indians massacred scores of whites and led the United States regulars from the San Carlos agency, in Arizona, where the outrages began, to the Mexican line.

After being taken prisoner of war, the chieftain was sent to Fort Pickens, Florida. He was afterwards transferred to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, and later to Fort Sill, where he remained until his death. During his term he was permitted to visit Omaha, the Pan-American Exposition and the St. Louis World's Fair. Four years ago the Apaches, after many councils, by ballot elected Asa, son of Whoa, and friend and official interpreter of Geronimo, to succeed the once honored leader as chief. Geronimo at that time was believed to be too aged and feeble to stand the strain that was constantly required.

He will be buried on the reservation here, with Christian rites. All of the 267 Apaches held here will be permitted to attend the funeral.

GERONIMO DEAD FROM PNEUMONIA

*Aged Chieftain Dies at Fort Sill After an Illness
of a Couple of Days*

Lawton, Okla., February 17, 1909. —After an illness of little more than two days, Geronimo, war chief of the Chiricahua Apaches, for years the terror of Mexican and white settlers throughout the entire southwest, prisoner of war since 1886, when he surrendered to General Miles in Skeleton Canyon, Arizona, died at 5:45 A. M. today in the Military Hospital at Fort Sill from pneumonia.

Firm in the faith of his tribesmen, having about two

years ago renounced the Christian religion, which was espoused two years before when near death from accident, determined in character as when in his prime, the old chieftain stayed death much longer than expected awaiting the arrival of his two children, Eva, seventeen, and Robert, nineteen, who were in school at Chilocco, but, disappointed when they failed to come last night, he died this morning apparently without pain. He will be buried tomorrow afternoon in the Indian cemetery, near Fort Sill, with Christian rites.

His tribesmen, wild with grief, moaning and weeping, all day have filed into the room where his body lies, weeping and praying to the Great Spirit. His only surviving wife, Niya, is prostrated, and upon learning of his death attempted to kill his favorite horse that its spirit might go with that of its master, but the Indians prevented her.

Geronimo was probably eighty years old. Twenty-five years ago his reputation in Arizona was that of a fiend in human form, and for ten years before that his name had been a dread word among settlers and ranchmen.

Geronimo became chief of the Chiricahua Apaches in 1874 on the death of Chief Cochise, under whose leadership the Chiricahua Apaches had distinguished themselves for wholesale rapine and plunder.

Geronimo was one of the few Indians accounted by United States soldiers as possessing real military genius. He was pursued steadily by troops for fifteen years, and was captured finally because he permitted himself to be, believing that he would be turned loose again on promising good behaviour.

General Crook fought him for ten years and finally captured him. He agreed to reform and the government put him back on his reservation. He broke loose again in 1885 and with a band of warriors committed many atrocities. General Miles was then sent to get him, and, with the assistance of Colonel (later General) Lawton, did so in 1886.

GERONIMO LAID IN GRAVE

Old Indian Chief Buried at Fort Sill.— Goes to the
Happy Hunting Grounds According to Abridged
Apache Rites

Lawton, Okla., February 18, 1909. — Geronimo, the

old Indian war chief, who died at Fort Sill yesterday, was buried today in the Apache burying ground northeast of the army post. The Rev. L. L. Legters, the Indian missionary, conducted the services, which were as similar to the Apache system of burial as the clergyman thought proper.

War Department officials had set aside today as a holiday for the Apache prisoners of war at Fort Sill, and the 200 warriors joined in the slow procession that carried the body of their old leader to the grave.

It was only by great effort that Geronimo's widow was kept yesterday from killing the old warrior's sorrel driving horse, his favorite, so that it might pass on with him to the happy hunting grounds.

Geronimo died in the faith of his fore-fathers, which knew no white man's god. The sun was his conception of deity. Four years ago, when Geronimo feared that the injuries received in a fall from his horse would prove fatal, he joined the Reformed Church. He was suspended from the church two years later because of excessive drinking, gambling and other infractions of church rules.

Asa Dukluge, who has been acting of the Apaches in all their dealings with the government, will likely succeed Geronimo. Dukludge is the last of the hereditary chiefs of the Chiricahua branch of the Apaches to which Geronimo belonged.

The announcement that funeral services conducted by Rev. L. L. Legters, the Indian missionary, "were as similar to the Apache system of burial as the clergyman thought proper" doubtless was a creation emanating from the romantic imagination of the reporter. The Apaches were very secretive in the matter of their burial rites, so much so that I never witnessed the burial of a single Apache while I was their agent — except that of Tah-zay in the Congressional Cemetery at Washington, D. C., and an Apache never voluntarily mentioned the name of a deceased relative.

Geronimo was a dominating character. He possessed courage, intuition, determination, initiative, and executive ability to a marked degree, and he was an adept in the ef-

fective use of stratagen, as well as the fine art of diplomacy. These rare qualifications plus physical strength and endurance coupled with a restive, insubordinate disposition enabled him to achieve extraordinary success along certain chosen lines in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds.

He was born a nomadic savage in an arid, austere, mountainous country sparsely inhabited by roving bands of the Apache race. As an infant he was warmed by the sun, rocked by the winds, and sheltered by the trees. His nursery was the wide, open spaces of rugged Nature, and here, as intelligence dawned and understanding developed, he listened to stirring tales of the pleasures of the chase and the glories of the war-path. Very soon, as he grew in stature and strength, he demonstrated his fitness for leadership by organizing the little Apache boys with whom he played into a band of make-believe raiders and inspired them to imitate feats of war. Therefore we are not surprised at his delight when, as a mere youth still in his "teens," the wise men ignored the custom of the tribe by admitting him to the councils of the braves and the activities of the war-path.

Geronimo descended from an ancestry of warriors. His grandfather was renowned for the vigor and success of his raids against the Mexicans. His first active experience on the war-path was under the capable leadership of Mangus Colorado, but he proved such an apt pupil that very soon he was organizing and leading his own raiding parties. Mexico was his principal field of operations. He acquired a bitter hatred for the Mexicans and for three decades he raided their territory almost annually. Thus, raiding became his occupation, and murder and pillage his habit. The reverses he met with only increased his bitterness and quickened his zeal. His environment and experience evolved for him a harsh code of ethics which, to himself, fully justified his ruthless deeds of plunder and bloodshed. His greatest concern was that the particular raid in which he was engaged should be successful — and that

success was usually measured by the number killed and the amount and value of the booty secured.

This is a picture of the Geronimo whom I met for the first time at Apache Pass on June 8, 1876. This picture is, largely, painted by himself in his story of his life. Never before having heard of Geronimo, I knew nothing of his history, and could learn very little at that time. Prior to this meeting with me his passion for raiding had been practically unrestrained. Having indulged in these savage forays for a quarter century, the activities of the war-path had become his business and the cruel scenes of the blood-red trail his divertimento. In these circumstances it is not altogether surprising that when our government sought to restrain his lawlessness and halt his depredations he resented this action as an interference with his natural rights, and he promptly defied the United States by fleeing into Mexico.

Not many months later we find him hob-nobbing with his friend, Victorio, at the Ojo Caliente agency in New Mexico — and actually drawing rations at that agency. Then came his second meeting with me at Ojo Caliente on April 21, 1877. Our stratagem deceived him. He walked into our trap — and into the guard-house IN CHAINS I can now appreciate his chagrin and humiliation at thus finding himself a shackled prisoner. He reasoned that he "did not belong" to us and therefore his arrest was unjust. Doubtless he was sincere in this judgment. But he was a sport, and having *surrendered in such abrupt fashion that the very important matter of "terms" could not even be hinted at*, he became a most tractable prisoner and did not give his guards the slightest inconvenience during the long trek from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos.

After a few months, his tact and diplomacy won for him a parole from his chains and the guardhouse at San Carlos. Soon he regaled himself with one of his habitual annual outings into Mexico, and then returned to San Carlos. In the fall of 1881 he again left the reservation with

a large following — included Nah-chee and his band. From that time until he was sent to Florida in the fall of 1886, his dealings were largely with the military. He defied the United States and Mexico. He fought the armies of both nations — and survived that stupendous ordeal unscathed. He surrendered three times during this period, — twice to General Crook and once to General Miles, but always the time and place and terms were dictated by himself. The conditions of his first surrender to General Crook (in 1883) allowed him to return to the reservation for a rest period of more than a year. While thus recuperating from his strenuous life in Mexico fighting the troops of two nations, he was afforded opportunity to look after the very important matter of his equipment — modern rifles and an ample supply of ammunition. The period of rest and *preparedness* being over, Geronimo and Nah-chee at the head of a large band of "Chiricahua *prisoners* escaped from the reservation on May 17, 1885," and hit the trail for Mexico for another outing of murder and pillage. But now the raiding arena had been extended to include the territory of the United States, and Geronimo justified his raids into American territory on the grounds that the United States troops were fighting him in Mexico.

Geronimo's second surrender to General Crook on March 28, 1886, endured for two days and a night, and then he and the Chiricahua *prisoners* with him "escaped to the hills."

Now enters General Miles. It was reported that Geronimo had made overtures of surrender to General Crook in March, 1886, *because his band were worn out and his supply of food and ammunition exhausted.* Nevertheless, Geronimo was able to fight the troops under Miles and the Mexican troops from April until September, 1886. And then, on September 3, 1885, at Skeleton Canyon, Geronimo told General Miles that he (Geronimo) would die fighting unless the terms of surrender were to his liking.

And we learn from a combination of official records and Geronimo's statement and the subsequent history of the hostiles, that General Miles made haste to promise Geronimo that his life and the lives of all of his people would be spared; that the government would protect and provide for them; that they would be given lands and homes and stock and implements, etc., and that Geronimo, himself, would not be required to do any work as long as he lived. Thus it is obvious that the only punishment inflicted upon Geronimo was exile from the mountains and trails he loved so well — and the consequent enforced abandonment of his annual outings for pillage and murder in Mexico.

Having accepted exile, Geronimo abandoned his former harsh weapons of stratagem and force and substituted in their stead the more genteel qualities of tact and diplomacy. It was the exercise of these qualities through the medium of his strong personality that enabled him, throughout the period of his internment as a prisoner of war, to obtain for himself many favors and advantages. His office of justice of the peace at Mount Vernon Barracks not only gave him a degree of authority, but also a modicum of dignity and responsibility. At Fort Sill, he manoeuvred himself into the position of an "Indian scout" (actually a soldier in the regular army) which entitled him to wear the uniform and draw the pay and allowances of a cavalry soldier. His record as a ruthless renegade and his conduct as an interned prisoner of war made it possible for him to enjoy the exceptional advantages of spending periods varying from two to six months at the Omaha and Buffalo Expositions and the St. Louis World's Fair. These results prove that his tact and diplomacy served him well.

Geronimo declared more than once that no one could kill him, and it is by no means improbable that he believed this to be true. It cannot be doubted that he flirted with death many times during the decades when he was persis-

tently and aggressively active as a ruthless raider and desperate outlaw, and it is easily possible that as, time after time, the grim reaper missed him by the narrowest of margins, he may have become convinced in his own mind that the Fates had decreed that he was not born to be killed.

And I have often thought that during the period he was fighting two armies in Mexico Geronimo was obsessed with another conviction, — viz: — that he was the sole arbiter of the question as to when he should rest on the reservation and when he should revel on the war-path. Certain it is that his success in dictating his own terms would justify that conviction.

Geronimo's last appearance in public — and the most spectacular exhibition in his remarkable career — occurred at Washington, D. C., on March 4, 1905, when, at the special request of the president of the United States, he and four other ex-renegade Indian war-chiefs, all duly striped and smeared and caparisoned, constituted a unique and conspicuous feature of the presidential inaugural parade as it moved with martial tread along that world-famed boulevard of the nation's capital — Pennsylvania Avenue.

Truly it may be said that, throughout his eventful career, Geronimo overcame and achieved in a masterful manner.

When I arrested Geronimo in 1877 and conveyed him 500 miles in shackles, my official report of the affair was contained in a single paragraph, and at the inception of this story I had no thought that it would extend itself to such length. However, when we reflect that these details involve events running through nearly half a century of frontier history, and are concerned with many characters of more or less prominence, it may be considered that the narrative is well worth the space herein allotted to it.

The leniency extended to Geronimo by General Crook and General Miles is, to me, inexplicable, and yet so far

as these two military commanders are concerned I entertain only feelings of sincere regret. My deeper and stronger sentiments have ever gone out to the great mass of the Apaches who, in one way or another, have always paid the bitter penalties which should have been assessed against Geronimo, that professional renegade, and other Indians of similar desperate character, as well as those in authority responsible for faulty management.

Three of the leading actors in this prolonged tragedy of misfortune, treachery and bloodshed have crossed the Great Divide. General George Crook and General Nelson A. Miles are sleeping their last, long sleep within monumented tombs amid the nation's honored dead in that great cemetery on the brow of Arlington, Virginia, and, as I was informed by an army officer stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, the mortal remains of Geronimo lie hidden there —
IN AN UNMARKED GRAVE.

MILITARY ESCORTS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

BY FRED S. PERRINE

(Concluded)

In the *New Mexico Historical Review* of April 1927, Vol. II, No. 2, was begun an article entitled "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail."

The *Report* of Major Bennett Riley was taken as printed, from *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, vol. ix, pp. 277-280.

Since this article appeared, the writer has been able to secure, through the courtesy of the War Department, a photostatic copy of Major Riley's original manuscript *Report*; and also a copy of his personal *Journal*, covering the same period.

A few corrections and emendations are necessary to make the *Report*, as printed, correspond with the original manuscript. Some confidential statements in the manuscript have been deleted, and, for the reason that they were confidential, did not appear in the account printed in *American States Papers*. Many changes in syntax and orthography occur between the original manuscript, and as printed, which will not be noted here, as they are not essential to a perfect understanding of the *Report*, and only where the meaning is obscure or radical deviations from the original are made, will any corrections be noted.

Page 181, line 7, the following should be inserted after the word "succeeded:" "it is now my opinion that it did more injury to the cattle than all the rest of the campaign, and that they have never got over it."

line 17, should read,—“have all been killed and scalped to a man; but fortunately for them . . .”

last line should read,—“my answer to all their communications, in one marked F. We parted on the. . .”

Page 182, line 8, read,—“good as we could get at that point. The woods above was a little. . .”

line 17, read,—“that was a proof of the danger, but added that they. . .”

Page 184, line 13, read,—“and when within about one hundred and fifty yards fired a volley;”

Page 185, line 10, read,—“four oxen, ten public horses and nine private and four public mules;”

line 25, read,—“Lieutenant *Cooke* instead of “*Brooke*.”

line 27, read,— *checking* instead of “charging.”

line 32, after the word “country” two lines are deleted in the original manuscript, neither do they appear in the printed report.

Page 186, line 1, read,—*Kiaways* instead of “Hiaways.”

line 7, read, —*Arter* instead of “Astor.”

line 21, read—Lieutenant *Van Swearingen* instead of Lieutenant “Swearingen.”

Page 187, line 14, read,—*surprised* instead of “dispersed.”

line 18, read,—*coming* instead of “crossing.”

lines 29-30, read,—“The enemy having gathered on the left flank, the 6 P [six-pounder] was moved to that point.”

Page 188, line 21, the original manuscript shows three of four words deleted following the word “pursuit.”

line 22, in original, twelve lines deleted after word “retreat.” The deleted lines possibly were Major Riley’s opinion of Captain Pentland’s action.

line 26, read,—“*Arter and Nation*.”

Page 189, line 15, read,—“every few days” instead of “every day.”

line 19, read,—rations instead of “ration.”

line 36, read,—32 Cwt. instead of “thirty-two.”

Page 191, line 5, read,—“the documents marked H. & I.” instead of H. T. P.

line 19, read,—“his troops and Tause [Taos] Indians.”

Page 191, line 27, read,—“almost every day” instead of “every day.”

This original *Report* is endorsed as follows:

74

Cantonmt Levenworth

Novemr 22^d 1829

Brevet Majr. Riley

6th Regt of Inf.

to

Brevet Brig^r Gen
Leavenworth

Reports, his return, and
the result of his expe-
dition on the Santa Fe
Road etc etc
(Accompanying documents are
marked from A to K inclusive)
Recd Jany 7th 1830.

The *Journal* mentioned in Major Riley's *Report*, is written in the same hand as the *Report*, neither being in the hand writing of Major Riley, but evidently the work of his Adjutant, Lieutenant James F. Izard.

The following is an exact copy of the *Journal*. Like many of the journals of the period, the punctuation is of the "dot and dash" system; and the manuscript fairly bristles with colons and semi-colons. Some times a sentence is closed by a period and a dash, and in some instances, to make sure that the reader will not run two sentences together, a period and two dashes separate them. Capital letters are sprinkled with a lavish hand thru the manuscript, but the orthography is far above the usual. The long "s" is used thruout the narrative in conformance with the style of the period.

With this introduction we present the original *Journal* of Major Bennett Riley.

Journal of the expedition of a Detachment of four companies of the 6th Regiment of Infantry from Jefferson Barracks Mo. to the crofing of the Arkansas river by the Santa Fe trace; (by way of Cantonment Leavenworth.)

The expedition being ordered for the protection of the Santa Fe trade, it has been advertised by Genl. Atkinson,¹ that the troops will march from the Cantonment about the 1st. of June.—

In conformity to instructions, the 1st. Battalion left Jefferson Barracks on the 5th. of May in the Steamboat Diana for Cant. Leavenworth—

The following are the names of the officers who accompany the expedition—

1. Henry Atkinson, was born in North Carolina, and served respectively in the 3rd, 45th, 37th, and 6th Infantry. He was brevetted Brigadier General May 13, 1820. He died June 14. 1842.

- B^t. Mayor Riley Comt.²
 2^d. Lieut. Izard Adj^t.³
 2^d. Lieut. Brooke A. A. Qr. Mr. & Com. Sub.⁴
 Doctor Nicoll Afst Surgeon.⁵
 Capt. Wickliffe Comg. Compy. F.⁶
 Capt. Pentland Comg. Compy. B.⁷
 1st. Lieut. Waters Comg. Compy. H.⁸
 2^d. Lieut. Van Swearingen Comg. Compy. A.⁹
 2^d. Lieut. Dorr.¹⁰
 2^d. Lieut. Searight.¹¹
 2^d. Lieut. Cooke.¹²
 2^d. Lieut. Sevier.¹³

Lieut. Brooke left St. Louis on the 20th of April on his way by land to Cant. Leaventh., with orders to purchase transportation at Franklin¹⁴ and Liberty¹⁵ with a view to lessen the great quantity of subsistence necessary for so long a march and stay in a section of Country where it cannot be procured, the teams are to consist of oxen and a considerable proportion purchased in the subsistence department, to be used for beef as the loads are lightened.

May 6th.

The boat arrived early this morning at Belle Fontaine;¹⁶ a hundred Sabres & a hundred pairs of holster pistols were here taken

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2. Bennett Riley, see *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. ii No. 2 p 177 note 1.
 3. James Farley Izard, *ibid* Page 183, note 14.
 4. Francis J. Brooke, *ibid* Page 178, note 3.
 5. William Howard Nicoll, born in New York state, and served respectively as surgeons mate, post surgeon and assistant surgeon. Was appointed Major and Surgeon July 28, 1830. Died March 5, 1831.
 6. William N. Wickliffe, see *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol ii, No. 2, p. 181, note 12.
 7. Joseph Pentland, *ibid* Page 183, note 15.
 8. George Washington Waters, *ibid* Page 184, note 17.
 9. Joseph Van Swearingen, *ibid* Page 184, note 18.
 10. Gustavus Dorr, was born in the state of Massachusetts, graduated from West Point, Class of 1825. He served in the 6th Infantry from 1825 to 1843, and was dropped from the rolls in 1843. Died January 16, 1855.
 11. Joseph Donaldson Searight, see *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. ii, No. 2, Page 182, note 13.
 12. Philip StGeorge Cooke, see *ibid* Page 184, note 16.
 13. Robert Sevier, see *ibid* Page 188, note 19.
 14. Franklin, Mo., see *ibid* Vol. ii No. 3, Page 270 note 5.
 15. Liberty, Mo., see *ibid* Vol. ii No. 2, Page 180, note 11.
 16. Belle Fontaine, near the mouth of the Missouri, occupied by troops from 1803 to 1826.

aboard: they are to be used if called for by Gov. Miller¹⁷ of Missouri by a volunteer company of Militia, which he is endeavouring to raise, to accompany the caravan beyond the Mexican line to Santa Fe; considerable danger being apprehended on that part of the route. The boat came to for the night 12 miles above St. Charles.¹⁸

On the 9th of May she passed the Steam boat Duncan at 5 o'clock P. M.: she came to at night a mile above Franklin—

May 13th.

The rudder of the Steamboat was accidentally broken at 3 o'clock P. M.: the boat was in consequence detained for the rest of the day.

May 14th.

A new rudder was completed by 12 o'clock: the boat reached at sunset 2 miles above the mouth of the Little Platte river.

17. The following information relative to Governor Miller, was supplied me by Miss Stella M. Drumm, of the Missouri Historical Society.

"John Miller, editor, soldier third Governor of the State of Missouri, and member of Congress, was born in Berkeley County, Virginia, November 25, 1781, and died at Florissant, St. Louis County Missouri, March 18, 1846. Reared on a farm with the advantages of only a common school education, he showed the military inclination of his character when a boy by playing soldier, with himself at the head of a company. While a young man he removed to Steubenville, Ohio, and published there the *Steubenville Gazette*. When the War of 1812 came on his martial spirit and abilities caused him to be appointed general of the State militia of Ohio, and afterward, colonel in the United States Army, in command of the Nineteenth Infantry, serving under General William Henry Harrison. On one occasion, while General Harrison was concentrating his forces at Fort Meigs for the invasion of Canada, the British, under the cover of night, erected a battery of six guns in annoying proximity to the fort, and General Harrison, calling his colonels together, asked them, one by one, who would undertake to capture it, and Colonel Miller, irritated at the unmilitary method, bluntly said, "I'll try, sir," and taking a detachment of 350 men, Kentucky volunteers, with a few regulars, he charged the battery, defended by double the number of British and Indians, captured the guns, spiked them, and returned to the fort with a considerable body of prisoners. Colonel Miller served on the Canadian border till the close of the war, and was then ordered to Missouri. In 1817 he resigned his position in the army, settled in Cooper County and was appointed register of lands, which place he held for eight years. In 1825 he was elected Governor to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Governor Bates. There were two other candidates in the field, Judge David Todd and William C. Carr, and the canvass was remarkable for the bitter personalities with which it was conducted. The vote stood, for Miller 2,380; Carr, 1,470; Todd, 1,113. In 1822 he was re-elected for a full term, and his administration was long remembered for the unusual agricultural prosperity that marked it. In 1836, four years after his retirement from the Governor's office, he was elected one of the two Representatives in Congress from Missouri, and he was re-elected in 1838 and again in 1840, serving for three terms with distinguished honor."

18. St. Charles, Mo., located on the Missouri River, and mentioned by many of the early western travelers. One of the oldest French settlements on the Missouri.

May 15th.

At 12 o'clock the boat arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth. We were received with a Salute of 15 guns: the battalion encamped immediately on the bank of the river.

Lt. Brooke had arrived 3 days before. He had been successful in making the necessary purchases of transportation.

May 16th.

Five companies of the 3^d. Infantry embarked in keel and mackinaw boats left this morning for Jefferson Barracks, when Maj. Riley assumed command of the post.

May 17th.

At Reveille the troops were moved into quarters: at 12 o'clock the remaining 3 companies of the 3^d. Regt. left in the Steam boat for below.

White Plume,¹⁹ head chief of Kansas, proposed to-day to the Sacs, that they should unite with his people in taking advantage of the protection of our expedition to hunt in the Pawnee country: they were advised by Mr. Bean²⁰ Indian subagent *not* to accede to the proposal.

Maj. Riley informed White Plume that if his tribe wished to accompany the troops, they would be protected, but that they must by no means expay [expect] pay or provisions. He replied, that he would consult with his people.

May 22^d.

Lt. Brooke returned to day from Liberty, where he has been on duty since the 18th inst: he brought with him his purchases, consisting of 19 waggons, 1 cart, & 60 yoke of oxen, which are all left on the opposite bank of the river under charge of a guard: there are 5 carts, 12 yoke of oxen, & 10 mules & horses at this post that are to be used for the expedition.

May 26th.

Lt. Sevier was sent today to the Kansas river with orders to examine & make a report on the state of the road if any, and the ferry or ford.

19. White (Plume Blanche; Wompawara, he who scares all men) was a Kansas chief. He is mentioned by James, in Long's Expedition, (Thwaites' Early Western Travels Series, Vol. xiv, p 177) as a very important man, and "destined to become the leader of the nation," also mentioned in De Smet's "Letters and Sketches, *ibid* Vol. xxvii p 201.

20. Major Jonathan L. Bean, was Government Sub-agent to the Sioux from 1827 to 1834.

May 28th.

This evening Lt. Sevier returned; he reports that it will be necessary to build a boat to cross the Kansas; & that the road, or rather, *trail* is much cut up by precipitous ravines & creeks.

It is thought the best route for the detachment to the Santa Fe trace, is by the opposite bank of the Mifsouri, where there is a tolerable road for 25 miles down, which strikes the river at a ferry:²¹ this ferry is within ten miles of Independence,²² thro' which the trace pafses: by either route the waggons & oxen must crofs the Mifsouri river: so that the only argument in favour of going by the right bank, & crofsing the Kansas, is, that it is the most direct by nearly 50 miles: Maj. Riley has determined to take the road on the left bank.

A large detail of men, is constantly employed in finishing the gardens commenced by the 3^d. Regt. The mechanics of the detachment, are, & will be employed, till the last moment in repairing carts, making sideboards & bows for the waggons, mefs chests for companies & officers, &c.

June 1st.

Today the transportation acrofs the Mifsouri of oxen & carts, of subsistence & other stores, is commenced: the battalion will march from the opposite bank June the 4th.

June 3^d.

The battalion crofsed the river & encamped on the bank.

June 4th.

The battalion marched at 12 o'clock; the morning having been consumed in loading waggons; the oxen, too, had strayed, & were collected with much difficulty: the rear guard marched at 3 o'clock P. M.

A Sergeant, 2 Corporals, & 18 men are left at Cant. Leaventh., a number of whom are in hospital:- A 6 lb. field piece is carried on the march:— Light Co. B. is equipped with yagers: the guard consists of a Subaltern, Sergeant, 2 Corporals, and 24 men, which are divided into an advance and rear guard: Next in the order of march comes the 6 pounder, with a waggon of fixed ammunition: next the Companies, followed by the baggage train.

21. Crossing the Missouri River into Missouri, the road passed about due east through the present location of Platte City, where it crossed the Little Platte, then in a south-easterly direction to the ferry, which was located near the present Kansas City, Mo. Here the road joined the Santa Fe trail.

22. Independence, Mo., see Thwaites' Early Western Travels Vol. xix p 189.

The battⁿ. reached this evening, the river Platte, 8 miles from the Mifsouri; the rear came up at 10 o'clock at night, the Companies crofsted over and encamped on the further bank, the waggons remaining on the opposite side. The road is very hilly, & in other respects difficult of pafsage.

June 5th.

The waggons were crofsted with much difficulty by 12 o'clock; the banks on each side of the river being very high & steep. The companies had marched at 9 o'clock; they were halted 4 miles from the river in a small prairie to await the arrival of the rear: during the halt it rained; this was of great benefit to the cattle which had suffered much from the heat. at 5 o'clock the march was continued: several creeks were pafsed this afternoon, which required double teams to crofs the waggons: the battalion encamped on a ridge the farther bank of a stream 6 miles from the Little Platte.

June 6th.

The battalion was in motion at 6 o'clock; the air is delightfully cool, the moshettos which have been very annoying, have in consequence entirely disappeared: the march lays thro' an extensive prairie, the road deep from yesterdays rain: having reached the woods the road is very hilly. the Camp was established at 4 o'clock, after a march of 10 miles performed in 8 hours.

June 7th.

The detachment marched at 7 o'clock: the road is very bad & hilly detaining the march at every moment; the Camp was established between 3 & 4 o'clock P. M. within a mile of the Mifsouri river, & 8 miles from last nights camp. Today two men deserted.

June 8th.

Last night 3 men deserted.

At Reveillie 2 companies under command of Capt. Wickliffe moved forward and crofsted the river Mifsouri at the ferry: 8 or 10 waggons, the field piece, & teams were crofsted during the day.

We were visited by several of the trading company; they stated their waggons were on their way to the trace; and on the supposition that they would move too fast to keep company, they wished to make arrangements relative to the return &c.

June 9th.

All the baggage was crofsted today two companies & their carts still remaining on the opposite bank.

June 10th.

The pafsage was completed this morning by 9 o'clock when the detachment was put in motion.

Capt. Petland with two men, returned express, this morning to the Cantonment; it is for the double purpose of bringing the mail, & the pursuit of the deserters.

The detachment reached the prairie & encamped at sunset; the days march is 8 miles.

June 11th.

The line was in motion at 5 o'clock; we immediately entered the prairie which rolling endlessly into hills, extends to the Arkansas; its face presenting but the single variety of a few small creeks accompanied occasionally by slight strips of timber.

The nearly constant breeze on large prairies, like that of the Sea, and created by the same causes, renders traveling on them, which otherwise, at times would be impracticable from heat, quite pleasant.

The detachment was halted between 11 & 12 o'clock at a fine spring on the right of the trace; it was found necessary to abandon here a worn out cart.

The battalion then marched until sunset, pafsing no running water; at intervals of a mile or two, within a half mile of the trace is to be found tolerable standing or stagnant water in sinks; but no wood.

At sunset we reached the Round²³ Grove, having marched 25 miles; a great distance for oxen; and farther by 10 miles than it had been thought they were capable going: it decidedly proves that the caravan will not be delayed by keeping in company.

The whole trading company was found here encamped; it consists of more than 70 individuals who have 37 waggons.

An interpreter of the Pawnee language, who was hired at Cant. Leavenworth, this morning joined the detachment.

June 12th.

The battⁿ. was as usual in line of march at sunrise Making a halt of two hours at noon, at a small creek, it encamped after marching about 18 miles in 9 hours; the Caravan came up shortly after.

The troops were tonight ordered to cook 2 days rations; the commanding officer having been informed that no wood can be obtained tomorrow night.

23. Round Grove, see *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. ii No. 2 p 179 note 4.

June 13th.

The Detachment marched 13 miles & encamped on the verge of a ravine or sink, containing bad water: there is no wood: to-day was very warm it was necessary to make repeated halts without water, on account of the oxen: Capt. Pentland came up at noon, he brought with him one of the deserters.

June 14th.

The battⁿ. marched 22 miles & arrived at 10 o'clock P. M. at "110th mile Creek." here was found pools of stagnant water, the first that was to be had in a warm and fatiguing days march of 12 hours.

June 15th.

Reveillie was beaten this morning but 4-1/2 hours after tattoo: the battalion encamped at sunset; it made the usual halt during the heat of the day: the march was interrupted by the passage of several dry creeks with high & steep banks, we advanced but 15 miles.

June 16th.

The Detachment passed in a march of 15 miles 4 small creeks, which, as on yesterday, were the cause of considerable detention: the camp was established on the farther bank of the 4th., at sunset.

June 17th.

The road today is over hilly & broken ground the days march is but 12 miles; the battalion encamped on a timbered stream, one of the many small tributaries of the Neosho, or Grand River, which have been passed in the last three days.

June 18th.

The battalion reached Council²⁵ Grove on the Neosho, at 9 o'clock A. M., having marched 7 miles: here the Camp was immediately established: it is ordered that a halt will be made until June 20th. the men are engaged in washing clothing &c.

Council Grove is 140 miles from Fort Osage²⁶ and rather more than half way to where the trace first strikes the Arkansas river.

The oxen are in as good order as they were on the Missouri river; the men all in fine health.

24. 110 Mile Creek, so named for its distance from Fort Osage.

25. Council Grove see *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. ii No. 2 p 179 note 5.

26. Fort Osage, site originally recommended by Lewis and Clark, abandoned as a military post, upon the erection of Fort Leavenworth in 1827.

June 19th.

Two trusty men were sent back exprefs to the Cantonment; they are mounted on mules; they are the bearers of a package of letters, and are ordered to bring the mails for 2 weeks:

June 20th.

The battalion marched 15 miles to Diamond²⁷ spring by one o'clock the usual halt was lengthened till 5 o'clock, awaiting the arrival of the caravan; the Camp was then established for the night.

June 21st.

The prairie this morning assumes a more level form than heretofore; the grafs short, no timber, indicating streams, to be seen. there was found in the road this forenoon a piece of bark on which was cut words to the following effect: viz. that the Pawnee Picts had killed one of the Kansas; that the rest of the party had crossed to the head waters of Kansas river; adding "You had better look out for them., June 4th."

The Camp was established at dusk near a pool of stagnant water; & no wood to be had: today's march is 24 miles.

June 22d.

The line was in motion at 4 o'clock, in 4 hours it reached the Cottonwood fork of the Neosho: a halt was made to cook breakfast; we were then informed that the next wood and water is 18 miles distant, farther than could be marched to-day. The camp was ordered to be established.

June 23d.

The battalion encamped at 6 o'clock P. M. at a small stream on which there is no wood. The usual halt was made at noon but without water: the day's march is 19 miles.

June 24th.

It was discovered at reveillie that 6 horses were misfing: 3 of them were the property of officers. & 3 of the sutler: men were immediately sent out after them, & nearly the whole day was spent in an ineffectual search; it is supposed by some, that they were stolen by Indians.

A man arrived this forenoon exprefs from Cant. Leavenworth; he was the bearer of one mail which contained nothing of importance: he did not meat (*sic*) the exprefs sent in from Council Grove.

27. Diamond Spring, near the town of the same name, in Morris Co., Kan.

Buffalo dung was made use of today, for fuel, in cooking; there being no wood.

June 25th.

The battalion marched 25 miles: reaching the Little Arkansas²⁸ river at 8 o'clock P. M.; the usual halt was rendered necessary at noon, by the heat, there was however no water: the oxen have been 15 hours without being watered.

The Little Arkansas is at present about 10 feet wide; the banks which it appears to overflow, are 15 feet high and very steep.

June 26th.

The troops were employed until 7 o'clock A. M. in digging down the banks of the river, and in otherwise rendering it passable by waggons: the detachment & caravan had crossed by 10 o'clock; the day's march was then commenced: the heat is excessive; the battalion marched but 10 miles, making a long halt at noon, & reaching a creek at sunset: we were today, for the first time, deserted by the prairie breeze.

An Officer & 12 men were sent ahead this morning, for the purpose of hunting buffalo; they however saw none.

June 27th.

The Detachment marched 20 miles, & encamped at sundown on the bank of the Arkansas river: it rained hard all the forenoon; nevertheless, during the afternoon, while crossing the sand hills bordering the river, the heat was almost insupportable; the mules of the caravan appeared to suffer as much as the oxen: The halt for dinner was made today on a handsome stream called Cow creek.²⁹

June 28th.

After an 8 hours march in sight of the Arkansas, the battalion reached Walnut³⁰ Creek, having advanced 15 miles; this is the largest stream we have yet passed: the Camp was established on its farther bank.

Soon after our arrival, it was reported, that a large herd of buffalo, the first that have been seen, was within a mile or two of

28. Little Arkansas River, see *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. ii No. 2 p 191 note 22.

29. Cow Creek, see *ibid* page 179, note 6, also *ibid* Vol. ii No. 3 p 269 note 2.

30. Walnut Creek, see *ibid* page 272 note 10.

the camp: a hunting party was immediately sent out, it succeeded in killing but one.

June 29th.

The march was detained until 7 o'clock, in waiting for the arrival of the meat; a quarter was presented to the traders.

The march was then continued without interruption till dusk, when the battalion reached Ash³¹ creek, which has at present no *running* water: the caravan had stopped at noon and came up some time later: the day's march is 22 miles. Many thousands of buffalo were around us, during the day: a good supply of meat was obtained.

June 30th.

One of the men who left the line yesterday to hunt, did not come up at night: he was found and brought in by 7 o'clock this morning.

It had been intended to muster the troops in the afternoon at the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas:³² the morning being thus broken in upon, they were mustered and inspected at 11 o'clock: the battalion in the afternoon marched to the Pawnee Fork, 7 miles.

This stream is but little larger than Walnut Creek.

July 1st.

The troops were today put on half rations of flour; the pork with the exception of 16 rations for the command, which are reserved for the return march, is expended.

The battalion was in line of march at 5 o'clock A. M.; making the usual halt at noon on raccon³³ (*sic*) Creek, it encamped at night at a point on the same stream, at which there were a few dead trees having marched 18 miles.

July 2d.

The Detachment marched 15 miles and encamped for the night on the bank of the Arkansas. There is no other than drift wood. A hunting party under charge of an officer, and provided with a cart, was detached this morning: it obtained a sufficient supply of buffalo meat.

It has been stormy for 24 hours; tonight it rains hard: the caravan has not come up.

31. Ash Creek, in Pawnee Co. Kan., about 300 miles from Independence.

32. Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas, empties into the Arkansas, at the present town of Larned, Kan.

33. Raccoon Creek see *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. ii No. 3 p 295.

July 3d.

The caravan reached us at 6 o'clock A. M.; having no wood, & the buffalo dung being wet, they had cooked or ate nothing: they were waited for until 9 o'clock, when the day's march was commenced. The battalion encamped at sunset on the bank of the Arkansas, after a march of 18 miles. The diarrhoea has been generally caused by the change from salt to fresh diet: a few of the men have in consequence been placed upon the sick report: we are informed it is always the case on the route, upon entering the buffalo country.

July 4th.

The Detachment marched 18 miles and encamped at 6 o'clock at the "lower crofsing" place; it is generally called the Caches,³⁴ an old company having cached here their goods.

At dark the exprefs sent from Council Grove, arrived 9 days from Cant. Leavenworth.

Reveillie this morning was preceeded by one gun, an extra ration of whiskey was ifsued to the troops: this is a slight "celebration," but equal to our means.

July 5th.

It was understood until 8 o'clock this morning that a rest of several days would be made at this point: it was even thought that the caravan would crofs here, and leave us: it was at that hour made known that the company would proceed to the "Upper Crofsing,"³⁵ and immediately: it is 70 miles above. The detachment of course accompany them: altho' the clothing of the men needs washing very much, and the days ration is not cooked, owing to a scarcity of wood, and the anticipation, of remaining here.

The battalion encamped in a river bottom, at 1/2 past 6 o'clock, having marched about 16 miles; it was necefsary today to pafs over the bluffs, or hills, which occasionally put in to the water's edge: the weather is cool, the wind extremely high.

July 6th.

The command marched to-day 19 miles,-a hunting party detached in the morning brought in at night 6 buffalo.

34. The Caches, about 5 miles west of Dodge City, Kan. Also called the Lower Crossing of the Arkansas.

35. Upper Crossing of the Arkansas was at Chouteau's Island.

July 7th.

The Detachment marched 10 miles before making the usual halt for dinner: the heat was now more intense than we have before felt: A waggon having broken down, we were spared an attempt to proceed. The buffalo today surround the column within 300 yards; and extending as far as the eye can reach.

July 8th.

It rained steadily all last night, this has rendered the air quite cool; such thro' out has been our good fortune: had the weather for the whole march been only as favourable as could have been reasonably expected, we probably would have accomplished the journey, at all, with great difficulty and suffering.

The battⁿ. marched 18 miles, encamping as usual in a river bottom.

We were witness this afternoon to a noble spectacle. An immense bull, rendered furious by being constantly headed, chose the most threatening outlet, by forcing a passage through the line: near it he received several shots, one of which was mortal; he pafsed with the speed of a horse close between two waggons, the blood spouting from his mouth and nostrils: he ran a short distance surrounded by dogs which he kept at bay 'till he sunk majestically down and was instantly dead.

July 9th.

At 11 o'clock A. M. the Battalion arrived at the Upper Crofsing, which is 2 or 3 miles below Chouteau's Island,³⁶ and the limit of the march.

These two points have been selected as crofsing places, not on account of the River, which is fordable anywhere, but the nature of the country between them and the next Stream, the Semirone;³⁷ this place is considerably out of the direct route, but much nearer that stream than the lower crossing, which is taken in wet seasons.

By the computation in this journal which is founded on the general allowance of two miles for an hour's march, the distance the detachment *has marched* is 485 miles.

The traders have made a written communication to the comg. officer appointing the time of their return to this place, between the 5th. and 10th. of Oct.; the latter, as the *limit* of their stay.

36. Chouteau's Island, see *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. ii. No. 2 p 180 note 9.

37. Cimarron River, see *ibid* page 179 note 7.

July 10th.

The caravan commenced early the pafsage of the river; with the afsistance of a few of our waggons and teams, it was accomplished without accident by 4 o'clock P. M.

A yoke of oxen has been turned over by the commandg. officer to Capt. Bent³⁸ of the caravan, to try the experiment of their ability to go thro' the whole route to Sata Fe. (*sic*)

July 11th.

The buffalo, our dependence for subsistence have apparently deserted us; it is doublefs (*sic*) owing to hard rains; the water collecting in the many hollows, they are not under the necefsity [of] coming to the river, from among the hills there is at present, however, in consequence but very little meat in camp.

The Caravan left the opposite bank of the Arkansas at 1 o'clock: between 5 and 6 P. M. a number of the company was to be seen returning at full speed; on arriving in camp they reported to the Commanding officer, in substance, that having proceeded about 6 miles and being in the sand hills, the company was attacked by a war party of 4 or 500 mounted Indians, who had killed and scalped one of their number, who was riding a short distance in advance; & that the Indians were still near the company, when they left.

Orders were received to advance immediately: all was excitement and alacrity: at 7 o'clock the pafsage of the river was commenced: the water has been rising all day; it was now at places nearly 5 feet deep, the distance to pafs over abt. 600 yards: yet in two hours the whole had crofsed, and by moonlight; the night was fortunately beautifully clear.

Two companies in advance marched immediately unincumbered with baggage, the remaining half battalion, with the baggage train, marched at 9 o'clock, under command of Capt. Wickliffe: perfect silence prevailed; 4 miles from the river we entered the broken ground, or sand hills; frequently in no direction could be seen farther than 200 paces: at 1/2 past 12 o'clk. the command reached the caravan. the moon was now down;-every thing was quiet:- the troops received orders to lie on their arms till morning.

July 12th.

We found every thing confirmed except the number of Indians which was probably not greater than 50.

At daylight some piquits (*sic*) established by the traders re-

38. Captain Charles Bent, see *ibid* page 191 note 21.

ported than [that] the Indians, unaware of the arrival of the battalion were advancing to the attack, & at the sound of Reveillie they immediately retired.

Mr. Lamme³⁹ the person killed received 4 ball and 4 arrow wounds: his arms, with which he was plentifully provided, & mule, were taken: after his death the indians, continued to advance, until, (altho' they are stated to have acted very boldly), they were frightened to a greater distance by the discharge of a one, or two, pound piece, the traders have, & a few rifles.

Mr. S. C. Lamme was the largest owner of the company. an amiable and worthy man:- his remains were buried wrapt in blankets at 9 o'clock: his grave to prevent discovery by the indians was dug in a small redoubt, or breastwork.

This spot is the worst for the afsailed that can be well imagined: the area of a natural Ampitheatre! the tops of the Surrounding hills within musket shot of the centre. A foe that does not push such an opportunity, the attacked too in confusion, is certainly not much to be dreaded: Armed *frontier men*, that could be induced to obey the orders of a Capt. of their own selection, *ought*, to replease any number of these proverbially cowardly indians without the assistance of a few Regulars.

The troops had now been without food for nearly 24 hours, had performed a forced march in the night, during which the most of them had stood nearly 2 hours in water: an ox was killed and cooked immediately. At 9 o'clock the Battalion and Caravan marched; from this place for several miles to the prairie is a defile not capable of admitting more than a waggon; the high ground was occupied by light troops.

The Camp was established at sundown, near stagnant water, & 8 miles from last night's camp.

July 13th.

The Battn. marched 16 miles on a stream called Drunken⁴⁰ creek, which contained no running water: today's march was very severe on everything; the prairie perfectly level, the short grafs withered and scorched: the wind passing over this glowing plain, sirocco like, was painfully hot: there was no water to be had for the whole day:- the pools of water of Drunken creek, were filled with dead fish, killed by today's heat.

It is determined to proceed no further in the Mexican territory: the laws of national intercourse probably not sanctioning such a step,

39. Samuel Craig Lamme, see *ibid* page 180 note 10.

40. No other information with regard to Drunken Creek as far as can be ascertained is available. No mention of it can be found in any contemporaneous or later account.

the danger being no longer to our knowledge immediate, & pursuit of the enemy not pretended and impracticable.

July 14th.

The battn. remained to day encamped; a number of the traders are very irresolute as to continuing the journey: the representatives of the company, presented the Cong. offr. a lengthy paper requesting them to continue on; or at least to detach a company, which they offered to mount and provision: many good reasons were given to prove that the mexican government far from noticing or being displeased at their coming would treat them with distinction, and that they would consider it a flattering mark of confidence in their good faith, and in their liberality in not expecting from them, a merely punctilious asertion of national rights: it was however, not granted them; the timid members have been persuaded to proceed, and share the fortunes of the undivided body. A large supply of buffalo meat was obtained today.

July 15th

The Battn. marched at 6 o'clock to retrace its steps: it reached and encamped on the same ground, as on the 12th inst.

The Camp was alarmed last night by a shot from a sentinel: the battn. was promptly formed: the alarm turned out to be false.

July 16th.

On entering the sand hills this forenoon, the march was detained, by a negro servents (*sic*) being severely wounded by a shot from a yager, the result of carlefsnefs in one of the men. We struck the Arkansas at 11 o'clock several miles higher than the crofsing, & opposite Chouteau's Island, where the camp was established.

July 24th.

The troops have remained inactive in camp: several hunting parties, of an officer 20 or 30 men, have been sent out, which found no difficulty in obtaining sufficient buffalo meat: it was intended to have crofsted the river yesterday, but it rained hard, and the river has in consequence risen several feet.

July 26th.

The Camp was broken up at 12 o'clock: the river was crofsted in two hours: the camp was reestablished in a bottom of fine grafs opposite; a quarter of a mile below is quite an extensive grove of timber, which on the river *shores*, rarely occurs; the water of this

river is quite as muddy as that of the Mifsouri, and at mid-day is very warm: to obtain better for the several uses of camp, the companies commenced digging: at a depth of 5 or 6 feet was found cool & perfectly clear water, which rose within 2 feet of the surface, (the level of the surface of the river), a couple of barrels completed a very convenient well.

July 28th.

Morning and evening drills are ordered to commence today.

The men are without pork, beans, vinegar, soap & whiskey drawing only half rations of flour and salt: the supply of buffalo meat has hitherto been rather uncertain.

July 31st.

Four discharged men set out this morning for the settlements, they were armed with muskets; they were thought by the commanding officer to run too great a risk to be intrusted with public papers: they were however the bearers of a large package of letters.

At tattoo 3 of their number, returned with a detachment that have been below hunting since reveillie:

They reported that having proceeded perhaps 18 miles they were suddenly approached by a party of 30 mounted Indians, thus taken by surprise, they made signs of peace, and rashly permitted them to come up: the indians considering them Completely in their power, did not immediately molest them, but made signs that they should mount; while at the same time the whole were in motion. [] Recovering their presence of mind, they gradually attained a distance of 49 paces from the indians, when they might have all got off safe: but one of their number insisted upon stopping to bid them good bye, which he did; having given them tobacco, & in the act of shaking hands, the universal sign of friendship, one of these treacherous savages placed the muzzle of his gun against his breast and fired: one of his companions, cautioning the others not to follow his example, immediately fired, when an indian was seen to fall from his horse; who, together with the arms & dress of Gordon, the man killed, was borne of at full speed.

The indians then endeavoured to surround, & pursued the little party about a mile; but by presenting occasionally their muskets, they kept them at a respectful distance, and finally got off, without another shot being fired; they lost however their packs, containing (*sic*) letters, clothing, ammunition &c.

They are indebted in all probability, to the hunting party, for

their safety, the indians had no doubt seen it, if not, cowards, as they are, they would have at least pursued farther.

The hunting party detained by one of these men who was exhausted by fatigue, did not return till tattoo: since dark it has stormed very severely.

Thus are we opposed to a well mounted though otherwise contemptible enemy, and in consequence are forced to remain painfully on the defensive, bearing unavenged insult and occasional lofs.

Aug. 1st.

A Detachment of 2 officers & 40 men, under command of Capt. Wickliffe, proceeded down the river at 8 o'clock with orders to bury the dead body of Gordon. it returned at 10 o'clock at night, having marched about 40 miles without having accomplished its object: the guide became completely bewildered.

August. 3d.

Lt. Izard with 36 men left camp at reveillie with the double object of renewing the search for the body, and hunting. he took with him 2 of the men that were with Gordon when killed, as guides. At 1/2 past 2 o'clock the camp was alarmed by the discharge of firearms it proceeded from the cattle guard which was a half mile above the camp: large bodies of mounted indians were seen to approach the river about 500 paces above, at full speed, both from the right bank, and over the opposite hills. Lt. Co. (B) then under command of Lt. Dorr, and the Camp guard under Lieute. Cooke, were immediately advanced from the left flank of the camp which was threatened with an attack; they were ordered to attack the enemy and keep him in check until the Battalion was formed in their rear.

The enemy's plan, evidently, was to form a junction of his two bodies between the Cattle, which were feeding about a half mile distant, and the camp, thus to cut them off: The remaining three companies were soon formed on the left flank: the enemy was prevented the accomplishment of his plan, by his detachment on this side of the river appearing too soon, and the check it received from Comp. B, and the guard, which advanced to the attack in double quick time: at the fire the enemy partially dispersed, and commenced flanking, by the fleetness of their horses, they had soon *completely surrounded* the camp at a distance of 4 or 500 paces.

It thus became necessary to change the disposition of the troops. Capt. Wickliffe's company was ordered to cross the slough to the island in rear of the camp; it gained its new position just in time to stop the pursuit of a body of the cattle, which were driven into

camp; compy. (A), under Lt. V. Swearingen, filed out of the line and marched to the protection of the right flank; from which it advanced about 400 paces in endeavouring to engage the enemy. The guard was ordered to take position in front of the Camp, for its defense in case of a charge it being entirely deserted, tho' by the present disposition covered on all sides.

While this change was taking place, (which was the work of but a very few minutes,) the indians remaining on the left flank were still engaged in attempts to drive off, or disperse the cattle: the principle part of which, however, ran down the sand bars of the slough in the direction of the camp, the indians in pursuit at full speed of them and their guard which consisted of but 5 men, one of who, was overtaken and shot down within 400 paces of the Camp. At this moment they received a volley from two companies under the immediate command of Maj. Riley, which caused them to retire evidently with lofs, and without the scalp of the wounded man.

The Company on the island was at the same time firing upon the enemy who covered the opposite bank: their shields were observed to afford them considerable protection.

The 6 pound field piece, under the direction of Lt. Searight had early in the engagement opened from the front of the Camp a well directed fire of canister; it caused the indians riding at the foot of the hills to disperse at full speed: the piece was then directed up the river, and several discharges of round shot fired; they passed in ricochet thro' a dense body of the enemy, with what effect it is unknown.

On the right flank company A was considerably advanced, and in pursuit of Indians who were driving off a large body of Cattle: the comg. officer who was in camp, conceiving them to move too slow to save them, ordered the signal, to *advance double quick*, sounded: Mistaking the notes, owing to the distance, they immediately retired: the enemy thus succeeded in capturing that portion of the stock; it being too late to remedy this unfortunate mistake, the company was ordered to take position in the point of woods on the river below, opposite which was a body of the enemy.

The main body of the Cattle guard had been actively engaged during the engagement in driving the cattle as they came into camp, into a pen on the right flank.

The Enemy now for some time continued to ride round, uttering their war cry, and gradually increasing their distance, until having all crossed the river they slowly retired to the hills, where they all collected, and discharged their pieces in the air.

The action lasted about 45 minutes. Our lofs, only one man killed,

10 public horses and mules, 9 private horses, 53 oxen, (including 3 recovered killed, used as beef) and several wounded.

Our force engaged 140 officers & men.

Supposed lofs of the indians 8 or 10 killed or severely wounded, their number between 3 & 400.⁴¹

It is generally impofsible to ascertain the lofs of Indians: it being their point of honor to bear off their dead; which when mounted they do with great facility: We judge of their lofs by the great number, we saw dismounted by our firing; & a gun, bows, & quivers of arrows. &c. &c. found on the field; & by trails of blood, & *drags*, by the side of horse tracks, on the sand bars.

It is singular that a fine indian horse ran during the engagement into the cattle pen adjoining the camp: he was however suffered to escape.

The indians were well mounted, and rode with astonishing boldness and safety: it is impofsible to tell, certainly to what tribes they belong: they were most probably, Kiawas Camanches, and Ari-pahoes; & perhaps Pawnee picts: their arms were guns, bows, the lance & shield.

We were all now very anxious to hear from the party under Lt. Izard which had not returned: a company was ordered to proceed down the river, to his assistance, if necessary: it met him within a half mile of Camp: he had not seen the enemy but hearing the firing at several miles distance had hastened on, but arrived too late to share in the engagement. three horses that were with this detachment are the only ones left us.

The body was found and buried: it was much eaten by wolves.

Augst. 4th.

The private killed was buried this morning at 10 o'clock with the honors of war he received 13 wounds, but lived until sunset.

41. The following letter taken from American State Papers Mil. affs., Vol. vii pp 957-958, from Major Riley to Hon. Lewis F. Linn, "Senator of the U. S.," dated Camp Sabine, Louisiana, August 28, 1837, reads as follows,- "Again, on the Santa Fe road August 3, 1829, when I defeated eight hundred Indians with one hundred and fifty, and killed and wounded forty of them; and again defeated them on the 10th November. [Should be August 11.] Sir, if I had received brevets for all these actions only, I should have been a colonel by brevet, September 11, 1834. And now, Sir, all I ask is, to be lieutenant colonel by brevet. . . I am more anxious at this time than I was heretofore, for I wish my son, when he grows up, to see and hear that his father has served his country honestly and faithfully, by gallantry.

My services are well known; but I wish my name to be on the records of my country for gallant services." . . .

Aug. 5th.

Repeated alarms were given to the guards last night by the noise of a great number of what was thought to be horses crossing the river: it is now tolerably well ascertained they were wolves which are in great numbers; they approach nightly very near the camp & keep up a continual howling: some indian dogs are still prowling round the camp. Two oxen were seen this morning to come down to the opposite bank of the river with buffaloes. Co F. was ordered to cross, and drive in what number of them could be found; the company was all the afternoon in the sand hills, but could only discover 8 or 10 that had been killed.

Aug. 7th.

An ox that came down to the bank yesterday, was driven in: it had received 4 wounds with arrows & bullets. at reveillie this morning the Camp was broken up: the battn. marched 8 miles down the river, and encamped at 11 o'clock: a new form of Camp has been drawn of (*sic*) by Lt. Izard; it is in the form of an octagon, 4 sides occupied by tents in single rows: the other alternate sides protected by waggons, in rows a little advanced; the officers tents, systematically arranged in the area: the oxen are at night tied to the waggons: the guard is increased to 28 privates; which are joined at night, by 8 others, or one third of the cattle guard. wells were again dug- the water is slightly brackish: the grafs tastes strongly of salt; so much so, that oxen will not lick the pure substance.

On establishing the Camp we were surrounded by buffalo, a sufficient number of which were killed.

Aug. 10th. 10 o'clock

Had a man dropt amongst us from the clouds, we had not been much more astonished, than to see a single emaciated soldier approach the Camp: it proved to be Corpl. Arter a man that had been left at Cant. Leavenworth; he was instantly surrounded; the substance of his story is as follows-viz. He left Cant. L. 12th July in company with private Nation., in charge of a Mail: the night after they left Council Grove, they were forced to sit up, to guard their horses from a party of Kansas: the 7th day after, being some 25 miles below this place, they were attacked by about 15 Mounted Indians Armed with bows & spears; they were both wounded, Nation dangerously in the breast, himself slightly: they however, got off with the loss of horses, mail, &c: Arter left Nation, after having brought him on about 15 miles, & came up to the crossing, where he saw our trail across the river. We were then encamped about 3 miles

above on the same side of the river: supposing we had gone on, he returned to Nation and remained 10 days subsisting on an ox we had left to die, snakes. &c. - he thought he heard the firing on the 3d. inst., & came up to-day, I suppose, actuated by a faint hope that was realized: he could give no idea of the contents of the mail, other than that they were important.

A Detacht. of 40 men was immediately sent after the wounded man: they took with them a cart: They returned at 10 o'clock P. M. having found him 12 or 15 miles below: he is dangerously wounded, sick, & emaciated.

A smoke was seen this afternoon to rise over the hills on this side of the river: it is supposed to be an indian signal.

Aug. 11th.

An alarm was given before day break this morning by the discharge of a sentinel's musket; the companies were promptly formed opposite their respective fronts: the alarm was false; the man is thought to have fired at a wolf.

11 o'clock A. M.

Twenty or 30 indians were seen at a distance leading their horses: the troops were turned out and remained under arms an hour: at this moment 3 Hunters were on the opposite bank, where they had killed 3 buffalo: they were called in by sound of the bugle; as soon as the troops were dismissed, Capt. Pentland with 18 men, a waggon & 3 yoke of oxen, was sent over the river to bring in the meat: Soon after he had reached the buffalo, and near 10 o'clock, his party and the Camp were attacked by a bodies (*sic*) of about 150 Mounted indians: the Cattle which were very near camp, were driven close in, & remained surrounded by their guard: Capt. Wickliffe's company F. was immediately ordered to cross the river and support Capt. Pentland: Compy. B. under command of Lt. Sevier was ordered to supply its place, the attack being threatened from this quarter:

Capt. Wickliffe having reached the middle of the river found Capt. Pentland and his command on a sandbar; when he saw the indians approach a man of his party [who] was 5 or 600 paces distant in pursuit of buffalo; the detachment immediately retreated leaving this man, and the waggon & team to the *mercy* of the Enemy: this Soldier, bugler King, had nearly reached the bank of the river, the men state, turning repeatedly to present his rifle, (which was most probably not loaded), & that his Cries were heard that they should not desert him:- he was overtaken Surrounded, and received

12 arrow wounds, each mortal: King was a brave, & remarkably strong soldier; he is stated to have clubbed his rifle, & to have desperately resisted to his last: his butcher Knife was found bloody by his side.

It is stated by several, who counted them, that the indians on that side of the river, were not 20 in number.

The Moment compy. F. reached the sandbar it was fired upon by a small party of indians on the bank; the fire was returned from the whole compy., when the indians retreated; their fire was without effect, the balls passing over our heads: that of ours is unknown. there being now no enemy to be seen on that shore, the company returned to some distance above on this side, where a considerable body of indians had collected; they retired beyond musket shot, uttering yells: the company here remained standing on their arms, spectators of the firing of the field piece; they saw a canister shot strike and (*sic*) indian backwards from his horse, he was taken off by those nearest him: they saw from this spot, also, for the 1st. time the waggon on the other side of the river driven towards the hills by 10 or 12 indians: at this moment the Company received orders to cross the river and recover the dead body: on reaching the opposite bank they were astonished to see the waggon and team standing deserted a half mile off: Capt. Pentland with his party arriving immediately after, he was ordered to search for the body and take it across; Capt Wickliffe then proceeded with his company, & recovered the waggon, the team was unhurt. why the indians should thus leave it, after having it in their possession, is unaccountable.

Capt. P. had in the mean time found the body; the scalp was gone.

The indians having now retired to a considerable distance, Co. (F) cut up the buffalo, and brought it in, in the recovered waggon.

In the afternoon a smoke was again seen to rise above the opposite hills; doubtless some conventional sign: during the skirmish a large number of indians were seen standing on the hills, inactive spectators.

Aug. 12th.

Between 2 and 3 o'clock this morning the Camp was again alarmed: the sound [of] indians and horses was distinctly heard by the guard: at a shot from one of the Sentinels, the Companies were quickly formed: they were advanced a short distance and slightly extended, thus nearly surrounding the Camp: they sat down so as to be concealed by the grass, and awaited the coming of the Enemy. they

remained thus for 2 hours 'till broad daylight, no Enemy making his appearance.

8 o'clock A. M.

The indians can be distinguished at a great distance, the troops are not turned out: drills are ordered to be discontinued 'till further orders.

Aug. 15.

We have seen since the 12th. inst. no sign of the Enemy: it has rained very hard: the buffalo have in consequence disappeared from the river. A march is ordered on tomorrow.

Aug. 16th.

The battan, marched at sunrise directing its course down the river, the present order of march is, the waggons in two lines, a company in front, rear, and on each flank.

The battalion encamped 4 miles below; the new plan of encampment is still adhered to, being considered not only a great improvement, but in our circumstances, a neccessary one.

Aug. 20th.

The troops remain inactive in camp; hunting parties, as usual are frequently sent out.

The Camp was alarmed last night at 10 o'clock; the alarm turned out to be false: at 8 o'clock tonight the alarm was *again* given, by a shot from a sentinel; the troops remained under arms a half hour, when they were dismissed, the alarm being considered false.

The weather is very unsettled; since dark the storm has been appalling: vivid flashes of lightning, alone discovering objects; to attack *by horse* on such a night is impofsible.

Aug. 21th.

Rain water was last night 6 inches deep in many tents: the battn. marched at reveillie; it encamped 10 miles lower down on the river.

Aug. 28th .

Strong hunting parties have been sent out daily since the 24th. inst.; the buffalo are at present obtained with difficulty, and at a distance of 5 or 6 miles. Priv. Nation who came on the last exprefs, died of his wound, at 10 o'clock P. M.

Aug. 31st.

The troops were mustered and inspected at 8 o'clock Nothing occurs at present worthy of notice. ,

Sept. 1st.

The Camp was moved a half mile further down, at reveillie: this was rendered necessary by the effluvia of of (*sic*) decayed meat unavoidably consequent upon 24 buffalo falo (*sic*) being butchered in camp 2 days since. A new range of grafs was also required for the Cattle, which are kept within 3 or 400 paces of the Camp.

Sept. 2d.

The alarm was given at 12 o'clock last night, by a shot from a sentinel; the troops were dismissed after remaining a short time under arms: the sentinel asserts he fired at (*sic*) a man, if true, an Enemy.

Sept. 8th.

A march of 44 miles was made down the river, immediately after reveillie.

Buffalo are obtained with great facility at present; generally by small parties of the best hunters, stationed within bugle call, under the opposite bank of the river.

Sept. 13th.

The Camp was moved this morning about 600 paces down the river; this was solely for fresh grafs.

Sept. 19th.

Since the 14th. inst. it has been rainy weather; it is probably the equinoctial storm: it has also been very cold. we have put all of our scant supply of winter clothing in requisition: this morning however, it cleared up: yesterday we had fires: today it is disagreeably warm.

The buffalo, our sole dependence for subsistence have been very scarce: a hunting party sent out this morning, returned 10 hours after without one.

Sept. 21st.

The Battalion marched at sunrise on its return to the Upper Crossings: it Encamped at 10 o'clock A. M. having marched 6 miles.

Sept. 26th.

The Battalion marched immediately after troop; still ascending

the river; the camp was established at 3 o'clock after a march of 13 miles: it has again clouded up very cold.

We continue to obtain a sufficiency of fresh meat, of dried, there is on hand, about 3000 weight.

Sept. 27th.

A horse seen at a distance of a mile or two, and at first thought to be wild, was observed by the spy glafses strikingly to resemble one lost on the 3d. of Aug.; it was caught, & found actually to be one lost by an officer on that day.

Sept. 28th.

A board of survey was ordered this morning to examine the waggons and carts: 4 of each were reported as worn out, & unfit for service.

The Carpenters and other mechanics are engaged in repairing the other waggons, & making tent pins, &c, of the best of the material of those condemned.

Oct. 4th.

The camp was moved a few hundred yards, up the river immediately after troop: the weather is still rainy.

The most of the irons of the condemned waggons and carts were cached to day near the present camp.

Oct. 9th.

The officers of the Detachment were placed on the 7th inst upon half rations of flour; it was discovered today that a great mistake has been [made] as to its quantity: it was ascertained that there are on hand 32 full rations of flour after the 18th inst., to which time the troops have received half rations, the same that they have received for more than 4 months: the officers have been for some time upon half rations of *Salt*.

Oct. 10th.

Tomorrow will be commenced the march to the interior. Immediately after troop the Camp was moved a few hundred yards, to put in practice a new plan of encampment, service of guard, &c, rendered neccessary by the peculiar circumstances of the Detachment: the plan was draughted by Lt. Izard. The Camp is arranged in the form of a rectangle, two sides of twice the length of the others, which are company fronts; the tents arranged in a single row, offs' wall tent on the same line: half of each of the longer sides is covered

by waggons: guard duty by company: the guard covering the waggon end of the rectangle. The object of the enclosed space thus obtained, is a *pen* for the Cattle, in which there will be sufficient grafs for each night, and obviating the necefsity of a strong detail, as an additional guard, for their protection.

Oct. 11th.

The reveillie, preceeded by a shot from the six-pounder, was beaten at first dawn: the battalion marched at sunrise; the waggons in two lines, a' company in front, rear, and on each flank. This morning there is a heavy frost. The Detachment had proceeded but 3 miles, when a number of men on horseback, were to be seen following at full speed; they were soon discovered by the glafses to be traders. The march of the detachment was continued to the first river bottom where it encamped.

The traders stated, they had left the caravan yesterday evening 24 miles from the Crofsing; that they were accompanied by an escort of 200 men composed of Mexican regulars, and indian Militia; the whole Under Command of Col. Vizcarra.⁴² They also stated that there were about 2000 head of stock, horses, afses, &c. which were in great part owned by several rich families of Spanish Refugees on their way to the United States.

The Caravan after being left by the Detacht. July 14th, had reached Santa Fe without lofs of lives or property. On the 6th. inst. on the Semirone, they engaged 130 indians who called themselves Aripahoes and Quawpas, from whom 10 scalps were taken: The escort lost one Captain & 2 privates.

The traders ascertained from the most respectable Mexicans trading with the Camaches & Kiawas that on the March of the Detacht. out, all their movements were observed, as far back as Council Grove, & reported in Santa Fe before their arrival: and that the Same indians *acknowledged* that in an engagment with the detacht., (Aug. 3d.) they had lost 8 Killed. It is most probable that a disaffected portion of them had gone on with this news, the remainder being engaged in the affair of the 11th of the same month.

At 1 o'clock the traders accompanied by Capt. Wickliffe & Lt. Brooke left Camp to return to the Caravan, which Cannot come up before tomorrow afternoon.

Col. Vizcarra is one of the most celebrated commanders of Mexico, the traders agree in acknowledging themselves much indebted to

42. Colonel Vizcarra, see *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol ii No. 2 page 190 note 20.

him for his assistance, & uniform kindness & politeness; he had stated to them, in case he should not find the Detachment here he would accompany the Caravan beyond danger in the U. S. territory.

The Comg. officer Received a letter from Mr. Bent stating the yoke of oxen sent thro' to Santa Fe performed the journey remarkably well, drawing the whole way, a heavy load, and that he had sent them back; they were lost in the mountains, on the return; the Result of carelessness in the person entrusted with them.

Oct. 12th.

The Caravan arrived on the bank of the river opposite at 3 o'clock P. M.: by 6 o'clock the whole had passed. Col Vizarro (*sic*) was received by the battalion under arms, with an appropriate Salute.

There were now collected on this spot about 500 persons, presenting for this Country, an extremely novel variety of dress, language, & arms. 5 different languages were spoken by persons in considerable number.

We were witnesses to many remarkable feats of horsemanship, and of the often recounted lazo throwing, in the dividing out of a drove of 2000 horses &c. & in the buffalo & wild horse chase.

The escort is accompanied by Mr. James Obrayú⁴³ Secretary of State of the province of Santa Fe (*sic*), and deputy to Congress: the Col., Secretary, a Captain & a priest, the only officers of the escort supped with us tonight by invitation.

Oct. 13th.

The Battalion was drilled at 9 o'clock A. M., in presence of the Mexican Commander: after which flank comp. (B) was drilled at light infantry. In the afternoon the company of Mexican regulars was reviewed by the Comg. officer: it is very badly armed and drilled: by far the bravest and most efficient men of the escort, it is said, are the Pueblo indians of Tous, of which there are forty: the appearance and performance, of our battalion made evidently a strong impression upon the Mexicans; the *contrast* between the two escorts is irresistible.

The officers of the detachment dined with Col. Vizcarra in his marquise, by invitation at 4 o'clock; a very handsome and substantial dinner was served up in Mexican or Spanish style.

43. Santiago Abreu, The following is from Twitchell's "Leading Facts of New Mexican History," Vol ii, p. 62: "Don Santiago Abreu, former governor or *jefe politico* of the territory was captured the same day (August 9, 1837. Revolution of 1837-8) near Los Cerrillos, carried to the pueblo of Santo Domingo, where he was kept in the stocks that night and was killed the following day in a most cruel manner. His hands and feet were cut off, one at a time and shaken in his face, his tongue and eyes pulled out while the brutes taunted him with the crimes of which he had been accused."

The Commanding officer was presented by Col. V. with a horse and Mule;; the latter he prized very highly, having taken it in battle, in personal combat with a general, or chief.

Indian presents were made to the Pueblos this morning by the Comg. officer: they performed in camp tonight a dance round the scalps taken on the 6th. inst.

Oct. 14th.

The battalion was in readinefs to march at sunrise, when the officers of the detachment visited in a body the Mexican Commander, and took leave of him, and his officers.

The March being now commenced was continued without interruption 'till 5 o'clock P. M., when the Camp was established 18 miles from last night's

The Caravan in two lines, alternately in front and rear, is always embodied with the detach, baggage: the drove of about 1500 horses, mules, &c. being always close in rear. A smoke was seen this forenoon to rise from behind the hills of the right bank of the Arkansas; it is doubtless a signal of our separation, & most likely for a collection, to attack either Col. Vizcarra's or this command.

Oct. 15th.

The line was in motion at sunrise, at 4 o'clock the Camp was established for the night after a march of about 18 miles.

Oct. 16th.

The Battalion marched as usual at sunrise: making a halt of an hour at noon, it encamped at sunset, having advanced 18 miles It rained a little yesterday, & the whole of today.

Oct. 17th.

The Battalion reached the Caches at 8 o'clock A. M. it was slightly detained here, by the cutting up, of two buffalo killed in the road by a small party of hunters that had been sent ahead: they were given to the traders, who were in want of meat.

Making the usual halt for dinner, the Detacht. encamped between 4 & 5 o'clock, after a march of 14 miles.

Oct. 18th.

The Detacht. this Morning left the river: the day is extremely cold; while passing over the hills, it snowed for a half hour: a short halt was made at noon, without water: at sunset we struck the

river, & encamped after a march of 20 miles: the river makes here the great South bend, which was in a great measure cut off by the route taken by the Command.

Oct. 19th.

Water froze last night an inch thick:

The battalion made a halt at noon on a point, or bend of raccoon (*sic*) creek, where we had formerly encamped: at sunset the Camp was established on the Arkansas; the day's march 18 miles.

Many of the oxen have become very lame. the hoof being worn away by the grafs, which is now dry and as rough as a file.

Oct. 20th.

The battalion pafsed the Pawnee Fork in the afternoon and encamped at 6 o'clock on Ash Creek, after a hard day's march of 20 miles.

Oct. 21st.

The Detacht. marched 18 miles and encamped on Walnut Creek. there was no water to be had at dinner.

Oct. 22d.

The battalion marched today 14 miles and encamped on the bank of the Arkansas; the traders have represented that we march too far in a day to suit their interest, & convenience.

We were surrounded today by immense herds of buffalo, which continually threatened to break thro' the line; as many as are wanted were killed.

Oct. 23d.

The Detacht. left the Arkansas river this morning, not to strike it again; it rains and is very cold.

A halt was made for dinner on Cow Creek: on a branch of which the battalion encamped after dark, having marched 18 miles; we are tonight without water; this branch or fork, being perfectly dry.

Oct. 24th.

The battalion reached the Little Arkansas at 12 o'clock. A company company (*sic*) had been sent ahead to bridge it, if necessary; it being low, it was rendered very pafsable by means of the spade, before the arrival of the battalion.

Two hours were consumed in Crofsing, when the camp was established for the night. The day's march 10 miles.

Oct. 25th.

The caravan have placed themselves out of protection of the Detachment, by separating into parties, some of which are in advance, others remaining in rear—about 15 owners have gone exprefs to the settlements, with the intention of sending out horses and provisions.

The rectangular form of camp, was changed Yesterday to the compact octagonal one, adopted Aug. 7th., the baggage today is in single line. two companies in front, & 2 in rear marching by flank in the road, to avoid the frost; the men being without stockings or other winter clothing.

The Battalion reached Turkey⁴⁴ Creek at 8 o'clock at night, having marched 24 miles. it was all day without water, & here there is no wood.

We found here a party of Osages.

Oct. 26th.

The Battalion marched 18 miles, and encamped on the Cottonwood fork of the Neosho.

Oct. 27th.

The Battalion marched 15 miles and encamped near sunset on a small stream without wood.

Oct. 28th.

The battalion marched 14 miles and encamped at Diamond Spring, the march is at present scarcely beyond the rate of one mile an hour, the oxen continually giving out. one or two waggons are entirely empty.

Oct. 29th.

The Battalion reached Council Grove at 4 o'clock P. M. This afternoon the prairie was found burnt; some Kansas indians inform us it is the case from this place to the settlements, they also gave a description of 4 horses running wild, & which they could not catch, exactly answering to 4 lost near this place on the march out. In the woods of the Neosho the Cattle have tonight excellent grafs; they have grown very poor on the dried grafs, usually, only met with.

Oct. 30th.

The detachment marched 12 miles, over a hilly & rocky road and encamped at sunset on the bank of a stream. the prairies are burnt, but, as is to be expected, there is grafs on the Creek bottoms.

44. Turkey Creek, see *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol ii No. 2 page 180 note 8.

Oct. 31st.

The troops were mustered and inspected immediately after reveille: the line was in motion as early as usual: the Camp was established at sunset after a march of about 12 miles.

The passage of 3 streams today, consumed much time; it was necessary to use the six pounder prolonge attached to the waggons and pulled by men, to assist the oxen up their banks.

The weather is extremely cold.

Nov. 1st.

The interpreter who had a good indian horse, was sent ahead, this morning to the Kansas agency to obtain a guide to meet the Detachment and conduct it to that place.

The Spaniards, and a few traders, state the Osage indians, who were in Camp last evening, have stolen horses of them.

The detachment encamped at dusk on the bank of a creek, after a march of 15 miles.

Nov. 2d.

The Detachment reached 110 mile creek at 12 o'clock: the Camp was established on its farther bank: this creek has a large timbered bottom where the cattle will find good grafs.

Nov. 3d.

Mr. Saugrain,⁴⁵ the sutler's agent, is obliged to remain at this

45. The following account of Frederick Saugrain was furnished me by Miss Stella M. Drumm, of the Missouri Historical Society: "Four years ago, when Frederick Saugrain had reached the great age of 100 years, *The Watchman-Advocate* told the story of his life, the oldest white person born on the Louisiana Purchase. He lived to the age of 104 years, 2 months and 6 days, dying at Sedalia, May 8, 1910. This more than centenarian was born in St. Louis March 4, 1806, at what is now Third and Gratiot streets, and on July 27, 1806, he was baptized in the old Walnut Street Cathedral. Frederick Saugrain was a son of Dr. Antoine Saugrain, the first resident physician in St. Louis. Dr. Saugrain was an intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin. He was appointed by the first Spanish governor, De Lassus, to the position of port surgeon, and later, in 1805, when Jefferson was President and the vast continental slice had become territory of the United States, the President re appointed Dr. Saugrain. When the Lewis and Clark expedition was being fitted out at St. Louis to cross the vast unexplored region northwest of the Pacific coast, Dr. Saugrain supplied with a generous hand the medicine chest which served the historic expedition through the unknown region of virgin forest, plain and mountain to where roll the waters of the peaceful sea and back again to St. Louis. Mr. Saugrain died Sunday night at the home of his daughter, Mrs. John Waddell, at Sedalia, after suffering several days with a severe cold. He had lived in St. Louis, a prosperous citizen like his father. until he was a very old man. He retained all his faculties in a wonderful degree until a few years ago, when his sight failed him. At the time of his death he was blind. Monday his remains were brought

creek, his transportation having entirely given out, and ours being nearly as bad, he cannot be assisted; his assistant, accompanied yesterday the express, for the purpose of getting fresh oxen: a Corpl. & 8 men were left with him.

The Detachment made the usual halt at noon, but without water: between 4 & 5 o'clock P. M. it passed a dry creek; wood and water however might have been obtained on it, about a half mile from the road; the march was continued a mile or 2, when the Camp was established in the prairie, without either wood or water.

About sunset the express arrived with a guide. It was thought necessary after dark, to burn the prairie on the right of the Camp, to protect it from a fire that was rapidly approaching from that quarter.

Nov. 4th.

At 3 o'clock today the Detachment reached the point where it leaves the trace. the road has been staked off; the stakes however this point on a creek, after dark, having marched 20 miles from have been removed by Indians: the battalion encamped 5 miles from

to St. Louis and taken to the home of another daughter, Mrs. William H. Pettus, at 4373 Westminister place. Funeral services were conducted at the old cathedral on Walnut street, where he had been baptized 104 years before. There were present descendants of many old St. Louis families, including members of the Papin, Chouteau and Lucas families. Some of the family names of the Saugrain descendants are Waddell, Pettus, Von Phul, Noel, Croke, Reel, Taylor, Kennerly, Bird, and Glasgow. Frederick Saugrain was a Southern sympathizer during the Civil War, as was his father, Dr. Antoine Francis Saugrain, but both were close friends of General Grant. After the close of the Mexican war Captain Grant resigned his commission in the army and came to his wife's home to live. Frederick Saugrain was a near neighbor and assisted in erecting the famous Grant cabin which stands on the Dent farm where it was built for the use of Grant. He never overlooked an opportunity to make me feel that he was my friend, Saugrain once said, and while my son sought the ranks of the Confederate army, the general was always glad to see me, and many times recalled the building of the cabin. On one occasion when General Grant was the guest of honor at a reception in St. Louis, and while he was surrounded by the great men of the nation, he caught sight of me in a distant corner. Leaving his distinguished friends, he rushed toward me with outstretched hand and, calling me by my first name, said: 'My old friend and neighbor of the Gravois creek district.' Why have you not written to me? I am always glad to see the man who helped me build my cabin. Frederick Saugrain had lived in Sedalia a number of years, receiving visits from his old friends, to whom he was always ready to relate incidents of the early history of St. Louis. In 1907, the occasion of his one hundred and first anniversary, a big family reunion was held in the Saugrain home. with an attendance of more than 100 members of the family. The heroine of The Rose of Old St. Louis was a ward of Dr. Saugrain, and the story was woven about the home in which Frederick Saugrain was born. (*The Watchman-Advocate, Clayton, Mo. May 13, 1920*) Mr. Saugrain's mother was Rosalie Michaud. He married Marie Louis Dima Provenchere, November 2, 1835."

It has rained hard, and steadily since 12 o'clock last night; we of course arrived wet to the skin: this is the first water or wood we have had for 36 hours; but for the cold rain, the oxen could not possibly have accomplished the march.

Oct. 5th. (*sic*)

It was necessary to let the waggons without teams down the bank of this creek with ropes. the line was in motion at 9 o'clock; it reached the Kansas river at 4 o'clock P. M. having marched about 12 miles.

The passage of the baggage, or rather waggons was immediately commenced: the river being very low, it was accomplished with difficulty by 10 o'clock at night, the Men being continually in the water to lift the flat over a sand bar in the Middle of the river- one Company only, crossed and encamped with the baggage.

Oct. 6th.

The line was in motion at 9 o'clock A. M. a halt of an hour was made at the agency: a guide was obtained to conduct the command a few miles, there being from this place to Cant. Leavth, no road: a party of Pioneers was sent a head to cut a passable trace:

The battalion encamped at 4 o'clock P. M. on one of the many creeks, and 5 miles from the agency.

The battalion marched about 14 miles and encamped on the farther bank of Stranger River⁴⁶ after dark: the waggons were drawn today principally by the men; a rope being attached to the waggons, in front of a worn out yoke of oxen: It is 11 miles to Cant. Leavth.

Nov. 8th.

The Command reached Cant. Leavenworth at 7 o'clock P. M.:

The battalion marched into garrison in Column of Companies, by field music: it was received with a Salute of 15 guns.-----

46. Stranger Creek, called Big Stranger creek on U. S. Land Office maps, with several feeders in Atchison, Jefferson and Leavenworth Counties, Kansas, flows in a southerly direction through Leavenworth County, and flows into the Kansas River near Linwood, Kan.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE HISTORY OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY IN
MEXICO CITY

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The National Library in Mexico City possesses about one hundred bundles of manuscripts which seem to have formed a part of the archive of the old Franciscan province of Santo Evangelio. The manuscripts are miscellaneous in character, but there are important materials for the history of missions in the frontier provinces of New Spain. When I first saw these manuscripts in the winter of 1927-1928 they were in considerable disorder, and there had been no attempt to classify them. With the consent of the Director of the Library I sorted out the items dealing with New Mexico, and classified them in chronological order. These items were then formed into *legajos*, and each item was numbered. The catalogue which follows was then prepared. The work was done in great haste, and it was not my intention to publish the catalogue. I desired only to get the materials in some kind of shape so that I could send for copies of important documents from time to time. After finishing the work it occurred to me that there would be others who would be interested in these materials, and that it might be worth while to have the list printed.

The catalogue which follows contains free translations or summaries of the titles of the *expedientes*, or very general indication of the contents if there was no title. In many cases the information furnished by the titles is not so complete as might be desired, but that is due to the fact that

the lists were made for my own use and not for publication. The order is not always strictly chronological, and that again is due to hasty classification. Some of the items were found later and were inserted in the lists after they had been prepared.

So far as possible, I have tried to indicate where items duplicate materials in the Archivo General de la Nación. Some of these duplications are copies of originals in the Archivo General; other are originals of which the Archivo General has copies. Inasmuch as I was permitted to take the manuscripts to the Archivo General for only three mornings, it is likely that there are duplications which I was not able to note.

I regret that I have not had an opportunity to revise and correct my work, but that would be impossible without a visit to the Library itself. In spite of all the imperfections, it is hoped that the catalogue will be of some service to students of the history of the Southwest. The Director of the Library promised to leave the materials in the same order for the present, so that copies may be obtained by citing *legajo* and *expediente* numbers as printed below.

Legajo 1.

1. List of documents for the history of New Mexico. Documents which were in some ecclesiastical archive, probably in that of the Province of Santo Evangelio. 14 ff.
2. Translation of the history of Juan de Laet: the chapters concerning the history of New Mexico. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 26, Exp. 1.) 14 ff.
3. 1605. Petition of Padre Escobar. 3 ff.
4. 1625. *Real cedula* in favor of Andres Carranguilla (?), secretary of Don Juan de Oñate. 3 ff.
5. 1631. Letter of Padre Benavides to the religious of the *custodia*. 4 ff.
6. 1636. Letters from the religious of New Mexico. (Copy

- of the originals which are in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 3.) 7 ff.
7. 1636. *Autos* concerning quick-silver found in the house of Francisco Gomez de Torres, citizen of New Mexico. 22 ff.
 8. 1639. Complaint by the *cabildo* of Santa Fe. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 5.) 14 ff.
 9. 1631. Copy of the *asiento* made by the *oficiales reales* with P. Fr. Tomás Manso concerning the service of supply for the New Mexican missions. 9 ff.
 10. 1646. Memorial concerning certain pueblos which were discovered in New Mexico (Ypotlapiguas) - 2 ff.
 - 10a. 1656. *Testimonio* of decrees of the Superior Government concerning the increase in the number of religious for the conversions of New Mexico. 5 ff.
 11. 1657. Copy of the *asiento* which was made by the *oficiales reales* with P. Fr. Juan Ramirez. 10 ff.
 12. A copy of number 11. 5 ff.
 13. 1660. *Real cedula* concerning Padre Ramirez, Procurator of New Mexico. 5 ff.
 14. 1664. Incomplete statement of the cost of administration of the service of supply for the New Mexican missions. 2 ff.
 15. 1661. Petition of the religious concerning the service of supply. 2 ff.
 16. 1661. Memorial of Fray Zapata concerning the administration of the service of supply. 2 ff.
 17. 1668. Documents concerning the service of supply. 2 ff.
 18. 1663. Provisions and decrees of the Superior Government concerning the service of supply. 13 ff.
 19. 1635-1661. Documents concerning the personal services of the Indians at the missions. 3 ff.
 20. 1664. Document concerning the service of supply. 3 ff.
 21. 1665. *Barron* of a letter written to the *Custodio* of New Mexico. 2 ff.
 22. 1665. Representation by Comisario General Fray Her-

- nando de la Rúa to the Viceroy. Controversy with the Bishop of Guadiana (Durango). 3 ff.
23. 1665. Letter to Padre Garnica. 2 ff.
 24. 1666. Certification by the *contador* of the *Real Hacienda* concerning the accounts of Fray Juan Ramirez. 1 f.
 25. Memorial concerning the service of supply. (No. date) 2 ff.
 26. 1668. Memorial presented by Comisario General Fray Hernando de la Rúa against the Bishop of Guadiana (Durango) in defense of the authority of the *custodia* of New Mexico. 6 ff.
 27. 1668. *Informe* of the *oficiales reales* concerning the service of supply. 2 ff.
 28. Order of the Viceroy concerning the missions of Casas Grandes. 10 ff.
 29. 1668. *Expediente* in which Governor Villanueva asks aid from the Padre Custodio against the Apaches. 5 ff.
 30. 1668. *Testimonio* concerning the dedication of the church at the mission of Guadalupe del Paso. 3 ff.
 31. Copy of number 30. 2 ff.
 32. 1669. Letters of Governor Medrano concerning attacks by the Apaches. 6 ff.
 33. 1670. Documents concerning the *residencia* of Governor Don Juan Manso. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 1.) 19 ff.
 34. 1672. *Memoria* of the furnishings in the New Mexican churches and of the annual cost of the missions. 17 ff.
 35. 1673. *Patente* of Padre Comisario Treviño concerning missionaries for New Mexico. 2 ff.
 36. 1674. Decision of the *Real Audiencia* concerning the service of supply and a *cedula* confirming it. 2 ff.
 38. *Real cedula* prohibiting the sending of religious without the license of the Viceroy and Audiencia. 2 ff.
 39. 1673. *Real cedula* prohibiting the sending of religious without the license of the Viceroy and Audiencia. 2 ff.

40. 1680. Letters concerning the uprising of the Indians of New Mexico. 6 ff.
41. 1680 Copy of number 40. 2 ff.
42. 1680 *Expediente* concerning the actions of Padre Ayeta in El Paso. 1 f.
43. 1680. Letters of Padre Ayeta, Padre Alvarez, and Governor Otermín in which they give an account of the uprising. 7 ff. (Copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.)
44. 1680. Letter of Padre Ayeta to the Comisario General in which he gives an account of what occurred in El Paso. 4 ff. (Copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.)
45. 1681. Letter of the Lieutenant-General to Padre Ayeta in which he gives an account of the affairs of the province. 3 ff.
46. 1681. Memorial of Padre Ayeta to the viceroy asking for aid for New Mexico. 5 ff.
47. Revolt of the Indian. Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 37, Exp. 6.) 99 ff.
48. Military expedition of Otermín. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 34, Exp. 2.) 121 ff.
49. Testimony taken from the original *autos*. (The same as number 48. but incomplete.) 79 ff.
50. 1676. *Autos* concerning aid for New Mexico. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.) 4 ff.
51. 1672. *Real cedula* concerning Indians, tribute, and encomiendas. Printed. 4 pp.

Legajo 2.

1. 1681. Testimony remitted by Governor Otermin to the viceroy. 190 ff. (This expediente is a copy, but I was not able to find the original. It covers the months of Sept.—Nov., 1681, or the period immediately preceding that

covered by number 48 in the first *legajo*. Muster rolls make up a considerable portion of the *expediente*.)

2. 1681. Title of *vice-cura* and *vicario eclesiastico* conferred on Padre Ayeta by the Bishop of Guadiana (Durango). 7 ff.
3. 1681. Copy of an order of the Bishop of Guadiana (Durango). 4 ff.
4. 1681. *Ibid.* 2 ff.
5. 1682. Letters of the *cabildo* of New Mexico to the viceroy. 15 ff.
6. 1682. Copy of a *libransa* for Governor Otermín from Padre Ayeta. 3 ff.
7. 1682. Despatches and decisions concerning affairs of the province following the uprising. 7 ff.
8. 1682. Copy of a *patente* of Padre Ayeta. 2 ff.
9. 1683. Document concerning the service of supply. 2 ff.
10. 1683. Testimony of Governor Otermín concerning Fray Francisco de Vargas. 2 ff.
11. 1683. Copy of a declaration made by a Jumana Indian. 4 ff.
12. 1683. Documents concerning Indian affairs. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 2.) 18 ff.
13. 1683. Documents concerning emigration from El Paso. 50 ff.
14. 1685. Testimony concerning services of the religious of New Mexico. 2 ff.
15. 1685. Letter of Fray Juan de Luzurriaga. 1 f.
16. 1685. Letter of the *cabildo*. 1 f.
17. 1685. Letter of the Padre Custodio. 2 ff.
18. 1685. Papers concerning "good government." 8 ff.
19. 1686. Letter of the *cabildo*. 1 f.
20. 1686. Certification by Governor Cruzate. 1 f.
21. 1686. *Informe* of Padre Posadas concerning New Mexico. 12 ff.

22. 1686. Ibid. 13 ff.
23. 1686. Ibid. 12 ff.
24. 1686. Ibid. 24 ff.
25. 1686. Memorial of Padre Posadas. Incomplete. 2 ff.
26. 1686. Journey of Mendoza to the Jumanas. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 37, Exp. 4, ff. 59 et seq.) 85 ff.

Legajo 3.

1. Various documents concerning New Mexico. 53 ff. (Contains a *MS* copy of the letter of Escalante concerning the Pueblo revolt and an incomplete relation which seems to be the continuation of Escalante's letter. Cf. the *Doc. para la Hist. de Mex.*, 3rd series. The National Library does not possess a copy of the third series, so that it was impossible to compare it with the *MS*.)
 - 1a. The continuation of the incomplete relation that is in number 1. 64 ff.
 2. 1688. Copy of an appointment granted to Capt. Cristóval Tapía by Governor Reneros de Posada. 1 f.
 3. 1688. Copy of an appointment as *cura-mayor*, *vicario*, and *juez eclesiástico* granted to Fray Francisco de Vargas by the Bishop of Guadiana (Durango). 2 ff.
 4. 1684-1685. Various documents concerning the affairs of New Mexico. (Copy of the originals which are in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 37, Exp. 4.) 190 ff.
 5. 1689. Various *autos* concerning the affairs of New Mexico. 130. ff.
 6. 1690's Papers pertaining to New Mexico. 20 ff.
 7. Documents concerning the restoration of New Mexico by Governor Don Diego de Vargas. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 2.) 135 ff.

Legajo 4.

1. 1692. *Posesión* in favor of the *custodia* granted by Governor de Vargas. 2 ff.

- 1a. Certification by Governor de Vargas. 1 f.
2. 1692. *Posesión* granted to Fray Francisco Corbera. 1 f.
3. 1692. Petition of Fray Juan Muñoz de Castro. 3 ff.
4. 1692. Document of Governor de Vargas concerning the jurisdiction of the religious. 10 ff.
5. 1693. *Testimonio* of the *autos de guerra* concerning the campaigns in New Mexico. 143 ff.
6. 1694. *Noticias ciertas* by the religious who assist in the Indian pueblos of New Mexico. 2 ff.
7. 1694. *Parecer* of the religious of the province. 1 f.
8. 1694. Letter of Fray Francisco de Vargas. 1 f.
9. 1694. *Noticia cierta* of what occurred in the *entrada* to New Mexico. 2 ff.
10. 1695. Letter of Padre Corbera. 2 ff.
11. 1695. Certification concerning P. Fr. Diego Sainos. 2 ff.
12. 1695. Letter of Padre Arbisu. 1 f.
13. 1696-1698. Documents concerning the death of missionaries. 10 ff.
14. 1685. *Autos* concerning the proposals of Lazaro de Musquina. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 4.) 13 ff.
15. 1696. *Traslado* of documents remitted by P. Fr. Francisco de Vargas, Custodio of New Mexico. 46 ff.
16. 1696. Copy of a letter written by P. Fr. Francisco de Vargas. 2 ff.
17. 1696. Letter of Fray Joseph Arbuisu. 2 ff.
18. 1696. Letter of P. Fr. Francisco de Vargas. 5 ff.
19. 1696. Miscellaneous documents concerning New Mexico. 3 ff.
20. Letter of P. Fr. Francisco de Vargas. 2 ff.
21. 1696. Copy of a letter of P. Fr. Francisco de Vargas. 2 ff.
22. 1696. Certification by Fray Diego de Salazar. 1 f.

23. 1696. Letter of P. Fr. Francisco de Vargas. 2 ff.
24. 1696. *Diligencias* of the Custodio of New Mexico to prevent the revolt of the year 1696. 62 ff.
25. 1697. *Autos* concerning Governor de Vargas' opposition to the appointment of Don Pedro Rodriguez Cubero as governor. (Incomplete copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 36, Exp. 1.) 20 ff..
26. Letter of Joseph Sarmiento Valladares.. 1 f.
27. 1698. Certification by Governor Cubero. 2 ff.
28. 1699. Petition of some of the religious of New Mexico. 2 ff.
29. 1699. Information given by seven witnesses concerning the causes of the revolt of 1680. 20 ff.
30. 1699. Documents relative to New Mexico and instructions of the missionaries. 186 ff.

Legajo 5.

1. 1700. *Autos* concerning the appointment of Capt. Don Antonio de Valverde Cosio as commander of the *presidio* of El Paso. 148 ff.
2. 1700. Letter of Fray Buenaventura de Contreras. 1 f.
3. 1703. Letter of the *cabildo* to Padre Arguello. 2 ff.
4. 1703. Letter of Padre Arguello. 1 f.
5. Documents concerning the authority of the religious. 38 ff.
6. 1705. *Testimonio* of representations made by Governor Francisco Cuerdo y Valdez to the Viceroy. 118 ff.
- 6a. 1704. *Testimonio* concerning the foundation of the mission of San Juan. 4 ff.
7. 1705. General muster of the citizens of New Mexico, 12 ff.
8. 1705. Miscellaneous documents concerning New Mexico. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 37.) 90 ff.

9. 1706. Cost and receipt of ammunition. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 36, Exp. 5.) 28 ff.
10. 1705-1707. Various *autos* concerning New Mexico. 20 ff.
11. 1706. Diary of Ulibarri. (Copy of the original which is in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 36, Exp. 4.) 24 ff.
12. 1706. *Testificaciones y certificaciones*. (Copy of the originals which are in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 36, Exp. 2.) 230 ff.

Legajo 6.

1. 1708. Certification from New Mexico concerning the celebration of the accession of Philip V. 1 f.
2. The second part of the *Testificaciones y certificaciones* in Legajo 5, No. 12. (Copy of the originals which are in the Archivo General, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 36, Exp. 2, 3.) 192 ff.
3. 1709-1717. Disagreements between the Governor and the Custodio. 62 ff.
4. 1711. Various *diligencias*, 108 ff.
5. 1711. Document concerning the service of supply. 15 ff.
6. 1711. *Autos* remitted by the Governor, Marqués de la Peñuela, concerning Indian affairs. 20 ff.
7. 1711. Miscellaneous documents concerning the Indians. 80 ff.
8. 1711-1712. Petition of the Governor to the Custodio, and the latter's reply. 19 ff.
9. 1712. Letters of the religious. 2 ff.
10. 1712. Letters of Governor Flores Mogollón. 1 f.
11. 1712. *Autos* concerning Indian affairs in El Paso. 56 ff.
12. 1713. Copy of a representation made by the *discretorio* of New Mexico to the *Real Acuerdo*. 1 f.
13. 1713. Letter to the Viceroy concerning an *entrada* to the Moquis. 1 f.

14. 1713. Miscellaneous documents concerning New Mexico. 14 ff.
15. 1714. Letter from Parral to the Comisario General. 1 f.
16. 1714. *Autos* concerning Indian affairs. 52 ff.
17. 1715. Letter of Fray Carlos Delgado. 1 f.
18. 1715. Letter of Joseph de B—?—. 2 ff.
- 18a. 1715. Letter of Fray Carlos Delgado. 1 f.
19. 1715. Various documents concerning the Indians. 20 ff.
20. 1718. Certification by Governor Valverde. 1 f.
21. 1715. Letters of the religious 3 ff.
22. 1718. Letters of the religious. 4 ff.
23. 1719. *Autos* resulting from the consultation of the Governors of New Mexico and "Parral" concerning the intrusion of the French. 92 ff.

Legajo 7.

1. 1721. Document concerning the privileges and exemptions of the religious. 44 ff.
2. 1721. Document concerning the *limosnas* for the missions of La Junta de los Rios. 3 ff.
3. 1722. Miscellaneous documents concerning the New Mexican missions. 12 ff.
4. 1724. Representations by the soldiers of New Mexico against the Governor. 15 ff.
5. 1725. *Real cedula* concerning episcopal visitations of missions. 2 ff.
6. 1725. Letter of Fray Pedro Navarrete. 1 f.
7. 1726. Certification by Brig. Don Pedro de Rivera and the Governor of New Mexico. 15 ff.
8. 1726. Various representations by the *cabildo* and citizens of Santa Fe. 116 ff.
9. 1726. Various documents concerning the New Mexican missions. 84 ff.
- 9a. 1727. Certification by Governor Bustamente. 2 ff.

- 9b. 1727. Letter of the religious. 2 ff.
10. 1727. Various documents concerning missions. 2 ff.
11. 1727. *Visita* of the missions of the Presidencia of the Rio Grande. 13 ff.
12. 1727. *Visita* of the missions of the Rio Grande by Fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes. 42 ff.
13. 1728. Letter of Bishop Crespo. 1 f.
14. 1728. List of missions and other documents. 4 ff.
15. 1728. Letter of Bishop Crespo. 2 f.
16. 1728. *Visita* of missions. 11 ff.
17. 1728. Letter of Fray Luis Martinez Clemente. 1 f.
18. 1728. Letter of Bishop Crespo. 4 ff.
19. 1728. Incomplete documents concerning ecclesiastical affairs 1 f.
20. 1728-1730. Various documents concerning New Mexico. 23 ff.
21. 1729. Letter of Bishop Crespo. 2 ff.
22. 1729. List of the religious of the Province of Santo Evangelio.
23. 1729. Copy of a *real cedula* concerning the *visita* by Bishop Crespo. 1 f.
24. 1730. Papers pertaining to New Mexico. 7 ff.
25. 1730. Various documents concerning New Mexico. 20 ff.
26. 1730. *Testimonio* concerning an *entrada* of the religious to the Moquis. 2 ff.
27. 1730. Various letters of the religious of New Mexico. 8 ff.
28. 1730. *Testimonio* of a despatch of the Superior Government to the Bishop of Durango concerning the appointment of a *juez eclesiastico* for the New Mexican missions. 11ff.
29. 1731. Inventory of the furnishings of the missions of N. Sra. de Guadalupe de la Junta de los Rios. 1 f.

30. 1731. Various documents concerning the New Mexican missions. 52 ff.
32. 1731. Petition of the viceroy. 1 f.
- 32a. 1731. *Testimonio* concerning the foundation of the *presidio* of San Juan Bautista. 2 ff.
33. 1731. *Consulta* of Fray Carlos Delgado. 3 ff.
34. 1731. Letter of Fray Juan de la Cruz. 6 ff.
35. 1731. Document concerning the *visita* of the Bishop of Durango. 4 ff.
36. 1731. Copy of a document sent to the King by P. Fr. Francisco Seco, the Provincial, in defense of the privileges of the New Mexican missions. 9 ff.
37. 1731. Letter of Fray Juan Antonio Sanchez. 1 f.
38. 1731. Petition of P. Fr. Pedro Esquer. 5 ff.
39. 1731. Letter of Fray Lerchundi. 2 ff.
40. 1731. Letters of Fray Carlos Delgado. 6 ff.
41. 1731. Declaration of Fray Juan del Pino. 3 ff.
42. 1731. Copy of *recaudos* belonging to New Mexico. 7 ff.
43. 1731. Copy of letters written to the Comisario General by the religious of New Mexico. 4 ff.
44. 1731. *Testificación* of Padre Lerchundi. 3 ff.
- 44a. 1731. *Visita* of Padre Menchero. 19 ff.
45. 1731. Petition against Governor Bustamente and the *alcaldes mayores*. 14 ff.
- 46-54. 1731. Letters of the religious. 9 ff.
55. 1732. Representation made to the King by Comisario General Fray Fernando Alonso Gonzales defending the missions of New Mexico and their freedom from episcopal jurisdiction. (Printed.) 14 pp.
56. 1732. *Cuentas* of the New Mexican missions. 83 ff.
57. 1734. Three letters of Fray Joseph Ortes de Velasco. 6 ff.
- 58-65. 1734-1737. Letters of the religious. 9 ff.
66. 1737. Certification by Fray Andres Varo. 1 f.

- 66a. 1737. Letter of Fray Andres Varo. 4 ff.
67. 1737. Letter of Fray Marqueda. 1 f.
68. 1737. Letters of the religious. 3 ff.
69. 1738. Letter of the Bishop of Durango. 3 ff.
70. 1738. Letter of Fray Villaroel. 2 ff.
71. 1738. Letter from the religious of New Mexico. 4 ff.
72. 1738. Letter of Fray Antonio del Sacramento. 1 f.
73. 1738. Letter of Fray Juan Garcia. 1 f.
74. 1738. Letter of Fray Juan Bermejo. 1 f.
75. 1739. Letters of the religious. 7 ff.
76. 1739. *Real cedula*. 3 ff.
77. 1739. *Ibid*. 2 ff.
78. 1739. *Ibid*. 3 ff.
79. 1739. *Ibid*. 3 ff.
80. 1739. Copy of number 75. 6 ff.

Legajo 8.

1. 1741. Letter of Padre Menchero. 1 f.
2. 1741. Petition concerning the mission of Zuñi. 3 ff.
3. 1741. Petition of Fray Juan Miguel Menchero. 3 ff.
- 4-15. 1742-1744. Various letters concerning New Mexico. 15 ff.
- 15a. 1744. Relation by Padre Sedelmair of his journey to Moqui. 3 ff.
- 16-17. 1744. Two copies of the *informe* of Padre Menchero. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.)
18. 1745. *Estado* of the New Mexican missions. 1 f.
19. 1745. Letter of Fray Carlos Delgado. 6 ff.
- 20-24. 1745. Various letters concerning New Mexico. 7 ff.

25. 1746. *Instrumento* by Dr. Joseph Antonio Cavallero, *Oidor* of the *Real Audiencia*. 8 ff.
26. 1747. Order of the Viceroy concerning the missions. 2 ff.
27. 1747. Certification in favor of the El Paso missions. 3 ff.
28. 1747. *Parecer* of the *Real Audiencia* concerning the *presidio* of N. Galicia. 5 ff.
29. 1747. Various letters concerning New Mexico. 4 ff.
30. 1747. Certification by Don Manuel San Juan. 1 f.
31. 1747. Certification by the Governor of New Mexico. 2 ff.
32. 1747. Various documents concerning the missions. 10 ff.
33. 1747. Incomplete document concerning ecclesiastical affairs. 3 ff.
34. 1747. Letter to P. Fr. Juan Joseph Perez Miraval. 1 f.
35. 1748. Various letters concerning New Mexico. 7 ff.
36. 1748. *Patente* of the Padre Custodio. 2 ff.
37. 1748. Certification by Fray Esmamera. 2 ff.
38. 1743-1748. Indictment against Fray Francisco Gonzales de la Concepción. 18 ff.
39. 1748. *Testimonio* in favor of the missions of El Paso. 3 ff.
40. 1748. *Testimonio* of Vice-Custodio Blanco concerning the missions of El Paso. 5 ff.
41. 1748. *Ibid.* 3 ff.
42. 1748. Certification by Gerónimo de Zevallos. 1 f.
43. 1748. Letter of Fray Francisco Guzman. 2 ff.
44. 1748. Letter of Fray Miraval. 1 f.
45. 1748. Documents concerning the repopulation of the mission of Sandia. 11 ff.

46. 1748. Two letters of Vice-Custodio Saavedra. 4 ff.
47. 1748. Documents concerning the repopulation of the mission of Sandia. 10 ff.
- 48-50. 1748. Three letters of Padre Menchero. 3 ff.
51. 1748. *Testimonio* concerning the missions of El Paso. 9 ff.
52. 1748. Letter of Padre Menchero. 2 ff.
53. 1748. Letter of Antonio Zamora. 1 f.
54. 1749. Letter of Governor Cachupin. 2 ff.
55. 1749. Two letters to P. Fr. Manuel Vermejo. 4 ff.
56. 1749. Copy of the *informe* of Don Juan de Ordenal. 13 ff.
57. 1749. *Informe* concerning New Mexico. 19 ff.
58. 1749. *Informe* concerning the missions of La Junta de los Rios. 6 ff.
59. 1749. Letter of Padre Menchero. 1 f.
60. 1749. Various documents concerning missions. 13 ff.
61. 1749. *Ibid.* 4 ff.
62. 1749. Letter of Ordenal. 2 ff.
63. 1749. Various letters from New Mexico. 4 ff.
64. 1750. Letter of Bernabe Manuel Montañas. 1 f.
65. 1750. Relation of the *entrada* made by Padre Sedelmair. 6 ff.
66. 1750. Information concerning the missions of Cebolleta and Encinal. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.) 10 ff.
67. 1750. *Informe* of P. Fr. Juan Sanz de Lezaun and Fr. Manuel Vermejo. 7 ff.
68. 1750. Certification by the missionaries of baptisms, marriages, and burials in their several jurisdictions. 19 ff.
69. 1750. *Informe* of Vice-Custodio Fray Manuel Trigo to

the Viceroy denying the charges of Don Juan de Ordenal. 11 ff.

70. 1750. Reply made by the religious to the charges of Don Juan de Ordenal. 22 ff.
71. 1750. Certification in favor of Padre Pino. 3 ff.
72. 1750. *Informe* of Padre Delgado. 4 ff.
73. 1750. Letter of Padre Delgado. 1 f.
74. 1750. *Informe* of P. Fr. Juan Joseph Oronzoro to the Custodio concerning the charges of Don Juan de Ordenal. 3 ff.
75. 1750. *Informe* by P. Fr. Andres Garcia concerning the personal services of the New Mexican Indians. 2 ff.
76. 1750. Thirteen certifications by the *alcaldes mayores*. 14 ff.
77. 1750. Certification by Padre Paez. 3 ff.
78. 1750. Certification by Alfrez D. Francesco Guerrero in favor of the *custodia*. 2 ff.
79. 1750. Fifteen certifications by the religious concerning the receipt of *sinodos*. 36 ff.
80. 1750. *Diligencias* by the Vice-Custodio concerning the receipt of *sinodos*. 36 ff.
81. 1750. A census of the New Mexican missions. 97 ff.
82. 1750. *Informe* of PP. Fr. Juan Sanz de Lezaun and Fr. Manuel Vermejo. 13 ff.

Legajo 9.

1. Petition requesting that the Franciscans be retained in the four missions which have been ordered secularized by the Bishop of Durango. 4 ff.
2. Letter of Fr. Juan Bapta. Dossal. 1 f.
3. Various documents concerning New Mexico. 7 ff.
4. Approval of the accounts, etc. 1 f.
5. *Noticia* communicated to the *alcalde mayor* of the Pueblo of San Juan. 1 f.

6. Description of N. Vizcaya and N. Mexico. 3 ff.
7. List of the missionaries of New Mexico. 1 f.
8. History of the Custodios of New Mexico. 8 ff.
9. Various *informes* concerning New Mexico. 44 ff.
10. 1750's Various documents concerning New Mexico. 5 ff.
11. 1751. Letter of Fray Villavicencio. 2 ff.
12. 1751. Testimony concerning the missions. 8 ff.
13. 1751. Letter of Fray Padro de Ugarte. 1 f.
14. 1752. Letter of Fray Jacobo de Castro. 1 f.
15. 1751. Document concerning various matters pertaining to Sinaloa, California, Rio Colorado, etc. 7 ff.
16. 1751. Copy of number 12. 14 ff.
17. 1751. *Informe* by Padre Custodio Varo. 30 ff.
18. 1751. *Testimonio* concerning New Mexico. 8 ff.
19. 1752. *Ibid.* 9 ff.
20. 1752. Letters of the religious of New Mexico. 8 ff.
21. 1752. Letter of Fray Manuel Náxera. 2 ff.
22. 1752. Various documents concerning New Mexico. 5 ff.
23. 1752. *Ibid.* 5 ff.
24. 1753. Letter of Juan Felix Marquez. 4 ff.
25. 1753. Letters of the religious. 18 ff.
26. 1753. *Testimonio* concerning a *visita* of the missions. 6 ff.
27. 1753. Letters of the religious. 2 ff.
28. 1753. Documents concerning the settlement of Abiquiu. 1 f.
29. 1754. Letter of Padre Cayuela. 1 f.
30. 1754. *Estado* of the missions. 12 ff.
31. 1755. *Visita* of the missions by Padre Jacobo de Castro. 16 ff.

32. 1755. Letter of Joseph Baca. 1 f.
33. 1756. Letter of Fray Ortiz. 1 f.
34. 1756. *Visita* of the missions of San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo del Rio Grande del Norte. 9 ff.
35. 1756. Various documents concerning New Mexico. 16 ff.
36. 1756. *Visita* of the missions of San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo. 2 ff.
37. 1756. Letter of Fray Maria Ana Francisco de los Dolores. 2 ff.
38. 1757. List of the missionaries of New Mexico. 1 f.
39. 1758. Letter of Fray Estarrana. 1 f.
40. 1758. Letter of Fray Jacobo de Castro. 1 f.
41. 1758. *Ibid.* 1 f.
42. 1758. Various documents concerning New Mexico. 11 ff.
48. 1761. *Ibid.* 4 ff.
49. 1761. *Informe* of Fray Serrano. (Copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.) 13 ff.
50. 1761. *Borrador* of a document which preceded the *informe* of Fray Serrano. 6 ff.
51. 1761. Documents concerning accounts. 6 ff.
52. 1761. Letter of Fray Antonio de la Rosa. 1 f.
53. 1761. Copy of an *informe* by Fr. Serrano, Fr. Antonio de la Rosa, and Fr. Andres Varo. 53 ff.
54. 1762. Various letters concerning New Mexico. 8 ff.
55. 1762. Document concerning the missions of the Colegio da la Cruz on the Rio Grande. 2 ff.
56. 1763. Document concerning ecclesiastical affairs. 2 ff.
57. 1763. Letter of Fray Diego Ximenez. 2 ff.
58. 1764. Relation concerning the missions of the presidencia of the Rio Grande del Norte. 2 ff.
59. 1765. Summary of the *informe* of Bishop Tamarón. 5 ff.

Legajo 10.

1. 1766.-1767. Various documents concerning missions. 20 ff.
2. 1766. Letter of Fray Manuel de Nájera. 2 ff.
3. 1768. Copy of a *testimonio* remitted by the Provincial concerning the desire of the Bishop of Durango to secularize four of the New Mexican missions. 3 ff.
4. 1769. List of the religious. 1 f.
5. 1769. Letters of Fray Pablo Antonio Perez. 4 ff.
6. 1767. Letter of the bishop of Michoacan. 1 f.
7. 1767. Various documents concerning missions. 5 ff.
8. 1767. *Ibid.* 11 ff.
9. 1768. *Ibid.* 2 ff.
10. 1769. *Ibid.* 5 ff.
11. 1769. *Ibid.* 7 ff.
12. Description of the government of the missions of Xemes and Isleta. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, Historia, Tomo 25.) 2 ff.
- 12a. 1772. Document concerning Comanches. 4 ff.
13. Document concerning the Jesuit missions. 7 ff.
14. *Compendido del diario.* 6 ff.
15. 1770. Letter of Fray Joseph Ruiz. 1 f.
16. 1772. Inventory of the mission of San Juan Bautista. 15 ff.
17. 1773. Accounts. 1 f.
18. 1773. Letter of Bucareli. 2 ff.
19. 1775. Diary of Escalante's *entrada* to Moqui. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.) 4 ff.
- 20-23. Four documents concerning the "Government" of New Mexico. 8 ff.

24. 1776. Representation by Capt. Salvador Palma of the Yumas. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Misiones*, Tomo 15.) 13 ff.
25. 1776. Letter of Fray Escalante concerning the government of New Mexico. 2 ff.
26. 1776. Letters of Garcés, Dominguez, and others. 4 ff.
27. 1776. Letter of Bucareli. 2 ff.
28. 1772. Decree of the Viceroy concerning the new method for the direction of the New Mexican missions. 6 ff.
- 28a. 1775. *Diario de Moqui*. 16 ff.
29. 1776. Document concerning the journey made by Padre Menchero in the company of the Governor of New Mexico. 1 f.
30. 1769. Letter of Fray Cayuela. 1 f.
31. 1776. Certification of *visitas jurídicas* in New Mexico. 4 ff.
32. 1776. Letters of Escalante and Dominguez. 6 ff.
33. 1776. *Compendio del viage*, Dominguez. 2 ff.
34. 1776. *Puntos* concerning the government of New Mexico. 4 ff.
35. 1776. Document concerning the missions. 2 ff.
36. 1776. *Ibid*, 4 ff.
37. 1776. *Ibid*. (Incomplete.) 2 ff.
38. 1776. *Ibid*. 7 ff.
39. 1777. Letters of D. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, the cartographer. 5 ff.
40. 1777. Accounts. 6 ff.
41. *Ibid*. 3 ff.
42. 1777. *Puntos* concerning the government of New Mexico. 4 ff.
43. 1777. *Visita* and description of New Mexico. The author was probably Fray Dominguez. 135 ff.
44. 1777. Document concerning the sale of land belonging to the mission of Cañada. 5 ff.

45. 1777. Documents concerning the building of the churches of Nra. Sra. de los Dolores de Sandia and San Lorenzo de Pecuries. 5 ff.
46. 1777. *Puntos* concerning the government of New Mexico. 2 ff.
47. 1777. Petition concerning tariffs or duties. 2 ff.
48. 1777. Letter of Bucareli. 2 ff.
49. 1777. *Puntos* concerning the government of New Mexico. 2 ff.
50. 1777. Letter from Croix to Bucareli. 5 ff.
51. 1778. Description of the territory of the *presidio* of San Juan Bautista and its jurisdiction. 16 ff.
52. *Estado* of the missions of New Mexico and Tampico. 8 ff.
53. 1778. Letter of Fray Dominguez. 2 ff.
54. 1778. Letters concerning missions. 2 ff.
55. 1779. *Pedimiento* of the Custodio. 1 f.
56. List of missions and missionaries. 1 f.
57. Copy of an *informe* concerning Sonora and New Mexico. 2 ff.
58. 1779. Expedition of Anza and the death of Cuerno Verde. (Another copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.) 10 ff.
59. 1779. *Padrones* of New Mexico. 6 ff.
60. 1780. Letter concerning Governor Anza. 3 ff.
61. 1780. *Providencias* concerning the reconquest of Moqui. (Copy is in the Archivo General, *Historia*, Tomo 25.)
62. 1781. *Noticia* of the captives found in the *rancherías* of the Rio Colorado. 2 ff.
63. 1781. Letter of Fray Barbastro to Fray Morfi. 2 ff.
64. Letter of a venerable *anciano*, to his fellow citizens of the Province of Sonora. 14 ff.
65. 1782. Letter of Padro Fages to Fray Morfi. 2 ff.
66. List of religious who have left New Mexico. 1 f.

67. 1790. Letter of the Bishop of Leon. 2 ff.
68. 1792. Letters of the religious. 2 ff.
69. 1793. Incomplete document concerning ecclesiastical affairs. 1 f.
70. 1794. *Estado* of the New Mexican missions. 6 ff.
71. 1794. Incomplete copy of number 70. 5 ff.
72. 1795. Letter of Fray Prada. 1 f.
73. List of the religious. 8 ff.
74. 1799. *Estado* of the New Mexico missions. 2 ff.
75. 1801. Pueblos of the jurisdiction of El Paso. 1 f.
76. 1801. *Ibid.* 1 f.
77. 1803. List of the religious in New Mexico. 4 ff.
78. 1815. *Ibid.* 3 ff.
79. 1818. *Noticia exacta* of the New Mexico missions. 1 f.
80. 1817. *Estado* of the New Mexico missions. 1 f.
81. List of the religious. 8 ff.
82. 1794. *Estado* of the New Mexican missions. 1 f.
83. 1792. *Ibid.* 1 f.
84. 1790. *Estado* of the mission of Santa Clara. 1 f.
85. 1789. *Estado* of the New Mexican missions. 1 f.
86. Instructions which Fray Dominguez is to observe in his *visita*. 2 ff.
87. Document concerning the exploration of a road from New Mexico to Sonora. 6 ff.
88. Treatise concerning the involuntary personal service of the Mexican Indians. 80 pp.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

- 1859 — Col. John B. Grayson, U. S. A.
1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict
-

- 1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch
1883 — Hon. L. Bradford Prince
1923 — Hon. Frank W. Clancy
1925 — Col. Ralph E. Twitchell
1926 — Paul A. F. Walter

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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended Dec. 15, 1925)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of twenty-five dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have by published work contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election,

and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Each Member, upon election, shall pay a fee of two dollars, which shall include the dues for the current calendar year and annually thereafter a fee of \$1.00 payable in January of each calendar year. Members may be dropped from the rolls of the Society at the discretion of the Executive Council for non-payment of dues.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publication of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at Eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Bulletins, as published, are mailed to members; subscription to the *Review* is additional.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex.





DR. CHARLES F. COAN

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 4.

APOLOGIA OF PRESBYTER ANTONIO J. MARTINEZ

STATEMENT OF MERITS OF THE

PRESBYTER ANTONIO JOSE MARTINEZ

RESIDENT OF THE BISHOPRIC OF

DURANGO, ACTING PASTOR OF TAOS,

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF NEW MEXICO

1838.

Printed in his office in charge of

JESUS MARIA BACA.

What is probably the first book to be printed in New Mexico, has come into the possession of the Historical Society of New Mexico through the generosity of Cecil V. Romero. No other copy of the booklet is known to be in existence. It was printed in 1838, at Santa Fe, on the press of Jesus Maria Baca. It is a duodecimo of thirty-four pages.

Mr. Romero has also furnished a translation of the booklet which is printed herewith. In transmitting his translation, Mr. Romero writes:

"I am sending you the translation of the Father Martinez booklet. It has taken longer than I anticipated, but the delay has been due mainly to a relatively few isolated words and passages that were especially doubtful. None of them affected the significance of the text on any important point, but nevertheless I did not care to make a haphazard translation. I must admit, however, that I do not understand some of them yet. I am underlining them in the translation and you can treat them as you think best.

"With these few exceptions, I believe I have made a faithful translation. To do this, it was necessary frequently to remind myself that I was translating the work and not editing it. The ponderous, involved style of the original has been retained, as I thought that even that was significant in its way. Where possible, I have even followed the punctuation of the original.

"Of course, it has been impossible to convey the charm and significance of the beautiful, stately old Spanish. It is remarkable that nowhere in this Spanish does one find a trace of the New Mexican idiom. In its style and spelling, and in its general complexion, it has an antique quaintness about it, but it is scrupulously correct and dignified, and in no way provincial. Its peculiarities are merely those of its period. This might seem strange at first, but I believe the Father himself explains it in the detailed account that he gives of his education outside of New Mexico.

"It has been my endeavor to make a translation that would convey as true and complete a picture of the writer as the original. It would be impossible to score perfect under this rule, but I hope I have come fairly close. I hope I have left between the lines of the translation the impression of a rather crafty old gentleman, essentially able and essentially well-intentioned, yet one who has a natural in-

clination towards controversy. And equally essential, I believe, is his rather engaging quality of egotism. The Father tries so hard to be modest that it is a pity that the results are not more convincing. However, he is like St. Paul in that his egotism is so inherent that it cannot be considered a defect.

"These things that he does not say are the ones that I hope have not been lost in translation. What he says, his interesting remarks on his own career and on contemporary happenings, did not present any great problem.

"I may say that I have enjoyed the association with the interesting old Father that this work has brought."

Verti me ad aliud, & vidi sub sole, nec velocium esse cursum, nec fortium bellum, nec sapientium panem, nec doctorum divitias, nec artificum gratiam; sed tempus, casumque in omnibus. Eccles., Cap. 9., v. 11.

(I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all. Eccles., Chap. 9, v. 11.)

The Presbyter Don Antonio José Martínez y Santiestevan, Acting Pastor of San Geronimo de Taos, and of the Mission of San Lorenzo de Picuries, in the Department of New Mexico, in relating briefly the steps he has taken, which bring to view his modest merits in the career of letters and the ecclesiastical estate, deems the above text appropriate to his progress and to the honors and offices he has attained, which he considers the peak of his fortune, since from what he has observed he fears that they will rather decrease, owing to his circumstances and to the distance from the ecclesiastical capital, than take the ascendant, which his age and health would hinder; but he considers himself happy in the possession of talents or gifts of mind, and the use he has made of them, and will con-

tinue to make, even though in a formal way he should not attain a higher rank in his profession, and should return, in order to make his living, to the calling of a laborer, which was that of his early years and to which he owes much, even as an ecclesiastic, since he has never entirely forsaken it, for which reason he believes he can truthfully say: "I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel. Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities."¹ He finds nothing to detract from his contentment and pleasure, even though he should end his days in the rancorous hate of those very ones whom he has benefited and served well without reward, for to this he owes the glory of being able to say with justice: "Many good works have I shewed you; for which of those works do ye stone me?"² He is thus resolved with a strong purpose invariably to do everything in his power, in a spiritual way, to assure his future eternal fortune, as an ecclesiastic and as a christian in the profession of his faith; to be merciful with his fellowmen as a human, and to continue upright and useful to the state as a social being. He will give, then, this statement, in methodical order: of his origin, parents and age, of his study in college and its fruits up to the present, of his behavior and services in said college, of his ordination and habilitation for the exercise of the ecclesiastical ministry, of the cause of his return to this Department of New Mexico, exercise in the ministry and continuation in it, of his ecclesiastical offices and his discharge of them, of donations to the Church, of the pious works done with the goods acquired in the ministry, of lending himself to politics and his services there, of the students who have been his pupils, and of the results of it all and his conclusion, or epilogue.

Said Presbyter making this statement is by nationality a Mexican, born in this Department of New Mexico, in the parish of Santo Tomas de Abiquiu; his parents, also

1. Acts of the Apostles chap. 20, vs. 33, 34.

2. Gospel ac. to St. John, chap. 10, v. 32.

Mexicans, were the now deceased Don Antonio Severino Martinez and Doña Maria del Carmel Santiestevan, man and wife in legitimate and constant matrimony, nobles by class; he was born on the 17th day of January in the year 1793, and was baptized on the 20th day of the same month, as will be seen by document number 1, which, together with all the others that will be mentioned hereinafter, is to be found on page one, and the others following in numerical order, in the attached exhibit: his age is 46 years at present, and when he was in his 25th year he started studying from the beginning of Latin Grammar on the 10th day of March, 1817, in the Tridentine Seminary of Durango, as a paid scholar until the 9th of March, 1820, on which date he was granted a scholarship of royal grace, in preference to others, as is shown by document number 2, which he enjoyed until in January of 823 he left school to return to this Department, to the house of his parents, with the permission of his superiors; and the total time of his studies in college was five years, ten months and some odd days.

In that time he studied Latin Grammar and Rhetoric, and in these subjects he held first place with respect to the total number of his schoolmates, as is verified by document number 3, issued by his professor, the Reverend Priest Don Bernardino Bracho, the one covering the former subject not being attached because it was left by him in the Bishopric on one of the occasions of his presentation there to take the orders, but it was in like terms and was the basis for the advancement in that subject that he made in all grammar. He studied philosophy under the direction of the Reverend Priest Don Francisco de Paula Rivas, his preceptor, the Prologues, four questions of certitude, Logic, Ontology, Real Metaphysics in its treatises of "On God," "On the Human Soul," "*De Anima beluina*," "On Ethics" and "On Matter in General, Metaphysically Contemplated," this Real Metaphysics was optional, all by the Abbot Para, its author; and by Father Altieri, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and General Physics, in which, at the

end of the course, he was given the Supraloco, or first place over all his schoolmates, as attested by the certificate which constitutes document number 4, which was given by his said preceptor in that subject. In Scholastic Theology, by the Most Eminent Cardinal Goti, which he studied but two years, he gained as much as is commonly gained in the three years of the course, even by the most apt, as he presented more optionally than was explained to him under the requirements, and in it all he was given the very highest grade with a distinctive note of superiority, which is proved by documents number 5, of his first professor in that subject, Doctor Don José Maria Gusman, Rector of the College, and number 6, of his second and last professor, Don José Loreto Barraza, also Rector of said College, successor of the first, and who had been secretary. And, finally, he studied at college all of Moral Theology, by the author Francisco Larraga, fourth edition, illustrated by Grosin, and The Sacred Ceremonies, by the rubricist Galindo, supplementing his intelligence with the reading of other authors, which last two subjects, although they were not explained to him by professor, since he studied them alone at the same time he was taking the scholastic course, he accredits with the certificates of having passed, with the most honorable grades, the examinations he underwent, and with the original licenses for the exercise of the ministry, which were given him from the first with the most ample powers.

Besides the completion of his studies and the very detailed and meditated review of it all that he has made in this Department, in the house of his parents and in his own, he has finished the Scholastic, Theology, by its above-mentioned author Goti, in three volumes, which consist of 40 treatises, as follows: the Isagoge; On God, His Existence, Nature and Attributes; On the Vision of God, on Knowledge of God, on the Divine Will, on God foreseeing and predestining, on the triune personality of God, or mystery

of the Holy Trinity, on God creator of the angels, on Man and his estates; on the ultimate end or beatitude of man, on human acts, on Virtues and Gifts, on Vices and sins, on Laws, on Divine Grace, on Justification of the sinner, on the Merit of the Just, on Theological Faith, on Infidelity, on Theological Hope, on Charity, on Law and Justice, on Restitution; on God Incarnate, on Knowledge of the Spirit of Christ, on the grace of Christ, on the Sacraments in general, on Baptism, on Confirmation, on the Eucharist as a Sacrament, on the Eucharist as a Sacrifice, on the Sacrament of Penance, on Censures and Indulgences, on the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, on the Sacrament of Order, on Matrimony, on the Status of the Soul after this Life, on the End of the Earth, and on the Universal Judgment, and the ones following same: Among which are those he took in College, and he studied all with the same formality and effectiveness as there, and even with more understanding on account of the habit and facility he had acquired, as well as the abundance of auxiliary material. In the same way he studied Canon Law, by Father Murillo, which he explains in five books of Decretals, which contain 125 titles, namely: on the Supreme Trinity and Catholic Faith, on constitutions, on Rescripts, on Custom, on nomination for Prelates, on Election and Power of the Elected, on Transfer of Bishops, on authority and use of the Cape, on Resignation, on making up for the negligence of Prelates, on the time of ordination and the qualifications of those ordained, on the Scrutiny in making the ordination, on those ordained by a Bishop who has resigned the Bishopric, on the age, qualification and order of the candidates, on the sacred unction, on not repeating the Sacraments, on ordaining or not the sons of priests, on not ordaining bondmen and on their manumission, on ordaining or not those under obligation of debt, on ordaining or not the physically defective, on not ordaining bigamists, on itinerant priests, on the office of the Archdeacon, on the office of the Dean,

on the office of the Primicerius, on the office of the Treasurer, on the office of the Custodian, on the office of the Vicar, on the office and power of the Judge Delegate, on the office of the Legate, on the office of the Judge ordinary, on the office of the Judge, on Seniority and obedience, on Truce and Peace, on Pacts, on Compromises, on Nominating, on Proctors, on Syndics, on things that are done under force or fear, on Restitution In Integrum, *on conveyance for the removal of the suit*, on Arbiters; on legal actions or suits, on competent courts, on presentation of the libel, on mutual petitions, on reply to the suit, that while the suit is not replied to not to proceed to the hearing of witnesses nor to definite sentence, on swearing to calumny, on delays, on holidays, on the order of cognizance, *on petitions for more*, on suits for possession and title, on Redress of Wrongs, on misrepresentation and contumacy, on those who take possession in order to protect the thing, that during pendency of the suit no new move is to be made, on sequestration of possessions and fruits, on proselytes, on probations, on witnesses and testimony, on forcing witnesses or not, on the witnessing of instruments, on Presumption, on Jure Jurando, on Exceptions, on Limitations, on Sentence and the matter judged, on Appeals, Recusations and Relations, on itinerant priests, on useful and useless Confirmation, on the life and morality of clergymen, on cohabitation of clergymen and women, on married clergymen, on clergymen not living in the church or prebend, on Prebends and Dignities, on sick or weak clergymen, on Institutions, on the Granting of a prebend or church not vacant, no innovations are to be made in a vacant see, on the things done by a Prelate without consent of the Chapter, that ecclesiastical benefices are to be conferred without diminution, on selling or not the things of the church, on call loans, on time loans, on deposits, on purchase-sale contracts, on Leases, on Barter, on Fiefs, on Pledges and other security, on Bondsmen, on settlements, on donations, on the Peculia of Clergymen, on last wills and testaments,

on inheritances ab intestato, on Burials, on parishes and foreign parishioners, on Tithes, first fruits and oblations, on Regulars and those who enter religious orders, on the conversion of spouses, on the conversion of infidels, on Vows and the redemption of vows, on the status of regular monks and canons, on the Religious Houses subject to Bishops, on chapels of monks, on the right of patronage, on assessments, exactions and procurations, on the consecration of churches and altars, on the Holding of Mass and Sacrament of the Eucharist and Divine Offices, on Baptism and its effect, on the unbaptized Priest, on the custody of the Eucharist, Chrism and other Sacraments, on Relics and veneration of Saints, on the observance of fasts, on purification after childbirth, on building and repairing churches, on the Immunity of Churches, Cemeteries and things pertaining to them, Clergymen or monks not to enter secular businesses, on espousals and marriages, on the marriage of impuberal children, on clandestine marriage.

On the wife of two, on the conditions placed on the marriage and other contracts, which clergymen or persons under vows may contract marriage, of the man who takes in matrimony the woman he defiled in adultery, on the marriage of lepers, on the marriage of slaves, on those born of a free womb, on spiritual kinship, on legal kinship, on him who has known a blood relative of his wife, on consanguinity and affinity, on coldness, disability and impotence in coition, on matrimony contracted against the interdict of the Church, which children are legitimate, who may challenge the matrimony or testify against it, on divorces, on donations between the man and woman and on the restitution of the dowry after divorce, on second nuptials; on Accusations, Inquisitions and Denunciations, on Slanderers, on Simony and on not requiring or promising anything for spiritual things, on prelates not conferring their charges or churches under annual assessments, on teachers and on not requiring something for permission to teach, on Jews and Saracens and their slaves, on Heretics,

on Schismatics, and those ordained by them, on Apostates and the reiteration of baptism, on those who kill their children, on foundlings, on voluntary or accidental homicide, on duels, on clergymen engaging in duels, on archers, on adultery and rape, on rapers, incendiaries and violators of churches, on theft, on usury, on the crime of falsity, on Sorcery, on discovering collusions, on crimes of children, on clergymen hunting, *de clerigo percusor*, *de maledicos*, on clergymen excommunicated, deposed or interdicted while in office, on clergymen promoted over others, on clergymen furtively ordained, on excesses of Prelates and subjects, on announcement of new work, on privileges and excesses of privileged persons, on canonical purging, on vulgar purging, on insults and injuries given, on penalties, on penances and remissions, on sentence of excommunication, suspension and interdiction, on the meaning of the words, and on the rules of Law. All the above enumerated titles, which constitute the work on Canon Law, he studied closely, without neglecting one of them, besides which work he read others which it cites and recommends, among them, as most notable, the Dictionary of Legislation, by Don Joaquin Escriche, very recently augmented by the Licentiate Don Juan Rodriguez de San Miguel the year before in Mexico, and printed there, with the reading of all of which, and that which he had previously given in part to other civilians, he supplemented the study of this author that he had made under professor. And, finally, besides having read many times the passages that have come up in his work, he has read twice all of the Sacred Scriptures with much meditation, especially in the difficult passages, as well as having read various other works allusive to Theology, from which he has garnered more light on that subject and fortified himself against the cavils of the Heresiarch.

During the time he was at college, almost from the beginning, he was charged with the interior vigilance of the classrooms to keep them in order, over his classmates,

and he also took turns in acting the teacher in his respective classes: in the year of '19, the Rector put him in charge of the economic management of the expenses of the kitchen and of repairing the schoolhouse, and under his care brickwork and whitewashing were done, the stairs mended and the doors fixed: he was also charged with the care of the clothes of the younger boys, and with keeping them in order and seeing that they attended the cathedral services properly distributed; and for economy he was given the keys to the pantry and to the false gate, for safety when the shepherd brought in and took out his sheep each day, and to avoid certain abuses that had been noticed in other hands. In the year '21 he was charged with the vigilance of the college over all his schoolmates, establishing him as Under-minister, which duty, as well as the others mentioned above, he discharged to the complete satisfaction of his superiors until January of 23, when he left the college, as is shown in document number 6 above-mentioned, given by Señor Barraza, from which, as well as from all the other certificates referred to from his other professors, it will also be seen that his department was at all times politic, religious and most orderly, and that he never gave occasion even for the lightest reprimands; and on this point further evidence is given by document number 7, given by the above-mentioned Señor Gusman; as well as by the fact that in the year of 22 he had, with the Professor Priests, the alternative of saying the daily masses that were held in said college, and of having been Chaplain of the college and of such grace as to confess on Saturdays those who, by turn, had to comply with that precept and to commune, and also to exercise the ministry in the parish or Sagrario of Durango, which was in charge of his above-mentioned teacher, Don Bernardino Bracho; but of this latter fact he inadvertently failed to obtain a certificate.

He was ordained by the Most Illustrious Bishop, Doctor Don Juan Francisco de Castañiza: as a minor on the 16th of March, 1821, on the following day as a sub-deacon, on

the 22d of December of the same year as a Deacon, and on the 10th of February of 1822 as a Presbyter, all of which were preceded by the proper examinations and approvals of his fitness and dispensation from the interstices; as was also his first Mass, which was on the 19th of the same February, and his licenses, very ample from the beginning, to preach and to hear confessions which followed the first ordinations on the first day of June of the same year, and all his studies of Morals and Rubrics, not excluding the required and optional Theology that he studied, as is shown in the above-mentioned documents and license certificates, in which it is also attested that his powers were later amplified to authorize him to celebrate two masses on feast days, *absolve from reserved sins*, to make and re-validate marriages *intra confesionem*, to give blessings in which the unction of the Holy Oil is not used and to give plenary indulgence to the dying, all for as long as he chooses; that the first time that this authority was given him was the 18th of January, 1826, when it was done by recommendation of the Venerable Ecclesiastical Council, which addressed him in the following words: "Because of the great praise and fame that is your desert, the Venerable Council instructs me to assert . . . "which are to be found in document number 8, from the secretary of the Council, Prebendary Don Juan Bautista de Olmo, and in that form his licenses have continued up to the last one given by the present Bishop, the Most Illustrious Don Jose Antonio Laureano de Zubiria, on the 6th of July, 1833, on Holy Visit, which continues to the present in full effect.

The reason he left college lacking only one year of finishing his course in Scholastic Theology was because he fell sick of a certain palpitation that impaired his breathing, after recovering from which in the house of his parents, he reported and asked for more time while he occupied himself in the ministry, which was granted him, as is attested in document number 9; and of his services during this time in celebrating mass, preaching and hearing con-

fessions and administering to the sick, in all of which he lent himself with such good faith and charitable promptness as the urgency of the situations required, and also of his sound conduct religiously and politically, there is evidence in document number 10, of the Reverend Father Fray Sebastian de Alvares, who was in office the year of his arrival, as well as in document number 11 given by the Town Council of Taos, and document number 12, given by the Mayor of Tomé, in which parish he substituted for Father Francisco Ignacio de Madariaga from the 24th of November of 1823 to the 20th of March of the following 824, and being previously especially recommended for occupying the post by himself, he had the approval of the Honorable Governor of the Sacred Mitre, as is seen by document number 13.

In the year of 1826 the administration of the parish of Santo Tomas de Abiquiu was placed in his charge, as is attested in document number 14, of the Vicar Forane, the Prebendary Don Agustin Fernandez San Vicente, which parish he served scrupulously as regards the administration of the Holy Sacraments, preaching of the gospel on feast days, conducting himself with the faithful of the parish and with the authorities with the greatest harmony, affection and upright political conduct, succoring the needy with alms, and very particular not to burden the poor with fees whenever he found it possible to spare them. He continued thus until September of the same year, when he resigned from said parish, as proven by document number 15, his resignation being due to the fact that he was serving at the same time the parish of Taos, which was delivered into his charge on the 23d of July of the same year, by virtue of document number 16 of said Vicar, and from that time to the present he has been visited, in said year of 26 by said Vicar at the parishes and chapels of Taos and Abiquiu in the month of August; in August of 1830 at the parish and chapel of Taos by the Vicar Don Juan Rafael

Rascon; the last at the same parish and chapels, in July of 1833, by the present Bishop, the Most Illustrious Don José Antonio Laureano de Zubiria, in which visits the entries in all his books were approved, and all his marriage records, sentences copied and the fulfillment of his ministry, all comparing so favorably with his predecessors, and even with other parishes visited, that in the certifying entries made in said parish books it was specifically stated in very special terms that he was given thanks and urged to continue in the same tenor, as is attested by document number 17, which is a certificate as to the terms of said entries made on the occasion of Holy Visit, which were as above stated. He has also served the mission of San Lorenzo de Picuries at the same time as the parish of Taos, first by commission of the Vicar Don Juan Rafael Rascon, above referred to, from March of 829 to April of 831, when for sufficient cause he resigned, and his resignation was accepted, as per document number 18; and the second time from the month of November 833, until the present, by order of the present Bishop, as is attested in document number 19. All these offices he has held as Acting Pastor, as the critical circumstances of the political state have not permitted anything better, since, although at the time of the last Holy Visit, after convocatory edict for competitive examinations, he withstood the synod with the object of being officially appointed pastor, but in that year a certain supreme decree prevented in a general way such a step; and although circumstances improved later, no official appointments were made; and the reason he was not included before that in the ones that were made in the year 830 was because he was prevented from making the trip to Durango to attend the Concursus by the fact that he could not find a priest to leave in charge of Taos and Picuries; but he was told that this was no discredit to him, even though he could not be given an official appointment by virtue of competition as he had not gone, as is evidenced by document number 20, which is the reply on this point of the

secretary of the Ecclesiastical Council. In said times and places that he has served, besides the faithful discharge of the duties of the ministry and the preaching of the Panegyrics in Durango, Abiquiu, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Taos and of the Doctrinals in the latter place, the other two parishes and the mission of Picuries, which he has served, and in Taos and Santa Fe the Holy Week services several times; he has given two masses on feast days in two churches, and has even preached in both, although always in one of them, and he has said mass sometimes in the church of Abiquiu, or of Picuris, and then in the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Taos, between which the distance is as much as seven leagues, which scrupulous discharge of his duties is accredited not only by the documents referred to, by which he served in other places, but by documents 21 and 22, these latter on having conducted himself in an upright manner religiously and politically, made several donations to the church and distributed some seeds each year in the different settlements among the needy, besides those that are always given at his house, and the articles of clothing; and even in the necessities of the present year at his house he has given of his own, and has even bought to give, notwithstanding the fact that since September of last year he has not been given the regular fees nor first fruits, and has suffered the loss of a thousand head of livestock with what the Nabajoes (sic) stole from him in November of last year from his ranch, besides other numerous and considerable reverses both in things of the spirit and of the world, which he refrains from relating in detail as not necessary to the case, mentioning them only in general, and tendering as evidence of same document number 23 of the Honorable Sub-prefect. He has been and is at present delegate minister of the Third Penitential Order of St. Francis, among the devout of this parish of Taos, as attested by document number 24 of the Father Custodian. From the year 1833 to the present he has been qualified to confirm in this parish and in the mission of

Picuries, which faculty he has exercised as shown by the certified entries made in the corresponding parish register, and his authority for making those confirmations is document number 25, establishing him Pastor of Taos.

In politics he has occupied, by election, first the office of Territorial Deputy, which he discharged in the capital, Santa Fe, during the years of 830 and 831, and deputy to the Departmental Council which from last year to the present he has attended whenever it has met, contributing to the costs of paying a secretary and the office expenses, as shown by receipt, without receiving anything either for his attendance or for travelling expenses, doing it all at his own cost. He has also contributed to the services of the state with an amount of money that was assigned him for travelling expenses by the Honorable Deputy, the Vicar Don Juan Felipe Ortiz, and another equal amount made as a voluntary donation for the Texan emergencies, as evidenced by documents number 26 and 27 given him by the said Vicar Ortiz; another sum contributed for relief of the troops used in curbing the public disorder in this department last year, as attested by document number 28, receipt given him by the Lieutenant Don José Silva, and other minor amounts that he refrains from mentioning; and in the disorderly movements of last year and the present in which this statement is written, he has been persecuted because of his exhortations, persuasions and the force with which he has expressed himself to bring the wayward to the path, but at last he prevailed upon others to listen to him, and thereby quieted the disturbance, and in a large measure prevented other evils as bad or worse that threatened. At the time of the conspiracy that was formed in the Villa de la Cañada in January of this year, and because of which there was an outbreak of war at the pass of Pojoaque, being in the Capital at Santa Fe he offered to go as chaplain, which His Excellency the Governor, Don Manuel Armijo accepted, and he went with His Excellency and the forces, saw service and deported him-

self as a brave and charitable soul, hearing the confessions of the wounded and others who died in that action, which duties he discharged with the bullets whistling over his head, and around him, and surrounded by the other horrible apparatuses of war, being only at a distance of about five yards from one of the places where one of those he confessed was wounded. That the expedition was made with the greatest caution, and at the best time, and a greater gathering of rebels avoided, was largely due to his efforts, and to the advance news that he gave His Excellency the Governor; and after that outbreak he continued this service, embarrassing other revolutions that threatened, and has continued it until just lately: first of these services were some letters of exhortation that he left upon leaving for Santa Fe, by which he had an armed barricade placed in Taos to preserve order, and thus bring an equilibrium against disorder, and owing to that the rebels did not leave Taos, and upon arrival of the immediate news that he sent of the victory of the national forces things quieted down; which is verified by document number 20, of the Mayor of Taos, Don Juan Antonio Aragon; and the other points by documents numbers 30 and 31, letters from His Excellency the Governor.

In the year 833, by request of certain youths who, with the purpose of studying for the ecclesiastical career, desired to be admitted to the college at Durango, he presented their proposal and request to the Most Illustrious Bishop, who had come on a Holy Visit, who answered him saying: that that was difficult if they did not yet know how to read or write well, and did not have wherewith to support themselves while studying, as was the case with one scholar from this region who had been in the college for years and was still there without offering any immediate promise: to which the writer replied, that it was quite true about them not having anything to support themselves with, except for one of them, but that if he (the Bishop) thought it well, the writer would teach them, and

as soon as they were through with Latin Grammar and Morals, he would send them to the college, which seemed well to His Grace, who approved of the writer teaching them and some others who were added. He started with four on the 15th day of July of said year; three more entered in November of the same year; and another three in November of the year following, '34: all started from the beginning of Grammar, or the declensions of the nouns, and they did not even have books: the result was that by August of 835, three were ready to go to Durango, which they did, as they had already learned Latin Grammar and Moral Theology, all of whom, after being duly approved, were ordained, two early in the year of 36, these being Don Juan de Jesus Trugillo, who now administers the parish of the Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada; and Don Eulogio Valdes, who now administers the parish of Santo Tomas de Abiquiu; to whom he advanced a sum of money for their journey to take the orders, since they were poor orphans, and the other was ordained in October of the same year 36, and he is the Presbyter Don Mariano Lucero, who since last year and at the present time helps the writer in the administration of the parish of Taos and Picuries. Besides these he had other pupils to whom he gave as much attention and more time, but if they have not finished as soon (it has been due either to the lack of books in which to study and to other reasons on their part, or to the fact that the last three entered so much later. Five of them went to Durango, and have been there since the latter part of said year of 36, having finished Grammar, four of them part of Morals and one of them part of Rhetoric, and two of them, being well perfected in Grammar, started to study philosophy as soon as they arrived and are already initiated into the orders; and two of the last ones who remained here, having finished Grammar and Rhetoric are now taking Philosophy, which they started in May of last year and are continuing with much determination and advantage, and

since that time the said Presbyter Don Mariano Lucero has also been studying it with them.

What has been written up to this point is what the writer considers his merits, and he believes he has stated them with modesty; and when he has given a detailed enumeration of what has been the subject-matter of his studies, principally as regards all the treatises of scholastic theology and the titles of Canon Law that he studied, it has served him as an exercise, and he can give an account of it all, so it does not seem to him to be redundant; on the contrary, he believes it might be useful for the consideration of people, and especially of men of sense, who not being all men of study would not gain an adequate conception from only the generic name, which, being amplified in detail, besides providing such adequate conception, might prove useful as a stimulant, making it palpably evident that it is possible (although such has not been the case with the writer, what with so many other laborious occupations with which he has distracted his attention) for the man who dedicates himself to cultivating his talents to perfect his knowledge, to his own benefit and to that of society in its religious and political orders, which are united in such harmony that they reciprocate. Thus are placed in perspective the tasks that have continually occupied his time in the discharge of his duties as an ecclesiastic, as a Pastor of souls, as a Professor in the above mentioned different classes, in reading and formal study in the above mentioned subjects that constitute his education, in attending to the affairs of his household that provide him his sustenance, which he has always gained in this way, and so many other tasks that are mentioned in this statement as having been performed by him and others that he has not mentioned, that it might seem a moral impossibility that it should all have been within the capacity of one person; yet it is all accredited by the documents in the attached exhibit, which have been referred to, by the facts and, besides, it is all palpable as of a manifest notoriety.

So far the writer has had the honor of never having been connected with any interdict or other note that would detract from his reputation as an ecclesiastic or in a political way; but has upheld, firmly and constantly, his rights and good name in both orders; and although he has been persecuted judicially for matters that have been brought up by various of his ecclesiastical brothers since the very year of 823 in which he returned to this, his native land, and also by some laymen, against it all he has stood firm and has not suffered even the slightest discredit.

It has been the lot of the writer, in the ecclesiastical order, never to have risen above the office of a mere Acting Pastor; and, as regards his public services, to have been persecuted, but by the elements of disorder, and with such impetus that the taking of his life was planned. As regards the former, he rests in the pleasing satisfaction that the spiritual fruits have been the same as if he had served in the cure of souls by permanent appointment, and he is satisfied that the fact that he has not had a permanent pastorate is due, not to any fault of his ecclesiastical superiors, to whom he is very grateful, as he has been favored with their benevolence, but to the circumstances of his times, as is explained above, both in respect to the first Concursus that he was unable to attend, and to the Synod that he withstood of his Diocesan, who owing to poor circumstances could not make the provision, or did not find it expedient; and as regards other honors, he blames the distance and lack of opportunity; and if he abandons hope of attaining them in the future, he attributes it to his advanced age, almost decrepit, and his already infirm constitution, which invites him to repose, even though, to gain his sustenance he should have to do it by the means of agriculture common to the people of this department. As regards the second, however, it is the result of persecution, and although he lives in fear, yet he is not affected by sorrow when he sees that in his dealings he has been merciful, opening his hands in succor to the

needy; consoling the afflicted who consult him in the straits of persecution, counselling them on how to defend themselves ably, or to cede the point if they are not in the right; giving wholesome advice to employees who have asked his opinion, or a knowledge of the law in arduous affairs where it is not contrary to his modesty or to the rules of his order; influencing with his proposals and his votes matters pertaining to the public weal whenever he has had opportunity in legitimate convocation; supporting with patience the weakness and frailties of his fellowmen when they have manifested themselves; and fulfilling faithfully the duties of his order and of his ecclesiastical office; and if with all this he has yet suffered adversities, he considers himself happy and rejoices in the Lord, when all these things lead him to meditate on those words of the sage, in which, telling about the impious against the just, it says: "Let us oppress the poor just man . . . nor honor the ancient grey hair of the aged . . . Let our strength be the law of justice. . . . Let us, therefore, lie in wait for the just, because he is not for our turn and is contrary to our doings and upbraideth us with transgressions of the law and divulgeth against us the sins of our way of life. . . . Let us examine him by outrages and tortures. . . . Let us condemn him to a most shameful death."³ But although he has been in the midst of persecutions such as those described, he has not varied his conduct towards all, since he has considered them as a sign of what he is told by Him who he believes has sent him as a minister of the gospel when he says: "Behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves."⁴ And he has wished to obey the command that He has also given him, saying: "Love your enemies, . . . do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."⁵ Considering all this, he maintains an inward peace, and an outward frank-

3. Book of Wis., chap. 2, ver. 10.

4. St. Luke, chap. 10, ver. 3.

5. St. Matthew, chap. 5, ver. 44.

ness and benevolence, he submits to it and protests the continuation of his conduct, and awaits with pleasure what God may send to him, in that to glory, accepting it contentedly, even though it be adverse, and to end his days as the Lord shall determine.

The Honorable Priest making this statement has signed, and I, the notary, witness.

ANTONIO JOSE MARTINEZ

Santiago Martinez, Notary.

I, Don Pablo Lucero, First Justice of the Peace of the District of Taos, in the Department of New Mexico:

Certify in due form of law: that at the request of the honorable priest Don Antonio José Martinez, I saw and read the foregoing account of his career and merits, already in print, and the exhibit of thirty-one documents that are mentioned in it, and I found them to be truly and faithfully represented therein. And in witness thereof and on the corresponding stamped paper, I certified and signed in the presence of two witnesses, in Taos, on this fourteenth day of August of the year eighteen thirty-eight. Witnesseth:

PABLO LUCERO.

in witness: RAFAEL A. DE LUNA.

in witness: PEDRO IGNACIO VIGIL.

CONFEDERATE COURTS IN NEW MEXICO

BY EDWARD D. TITTMANN

(The discovery on which this article is based is to be credited to Mr. J. F. Nevares County Clerk of Doña Ana Co.)

A great deal has been written about the military operations of the Confederate Armies in the Territory of New Mexico but comparatively little is known of the attempts to set up a civil government. I do not believe that there exists any account of these operations so far as the judicial department is concerned and this article is intended to sketch a glimpse of the only Confederate courts known to have been set up in the Southwest. The records on which this sketch is based reposed in the vault of the County Court House at Las Cruces for many years until they were discovered in the course of a title search on behalf of an abstract company. Of the actual files only a very few remain; Among those of the Probate Court a few bonds of administrators, among those of the District Court only those reproduced in part on another page. But the record itself is sufficiently detailed to give us a very good idea of these Confederate tribunals.

In March, 1861, a convention had been held at Mesilla, and at this convention resolutions were adopted repudiating the "black republican administration," but not much was done to put the repudiation into effect until the arrival of the troops of Lt. Colonel John R. Baylor, because there was a garrison close by at Ft. Fillmore and there were other forts and other troops further up the Rio Grande. Shortly after his arrival at Mesilla on August 1st, 1861, Colonel Baylor issued a proclamation organizing the Territory of Arizona as a military government and taking possession of

the same in the name of the Confederate States of America. He limited the boundaries of the territory to that portion of what had been New Mexico lying south of the 34th parallel of north latitude. This line runs south of Socorro about half way to the little village of San Antonio. He designated the city of Mesilla as the seat of government and divided the Territory into two judicial districts, the first to comprise that portion of the territory lying east of Apache Pass, the second District to comprise the balance. The district and probate courts of the First District were to be held at Mesilla and those of the second at Tucson. Provision was made for transferring all suits and pending business to the new courts, for the appointment of clerks of court, of sheriffs and other officers, and of an attorney general.

The second last paragraph of the proclamation contained a proviso for an oath of allegiance as follows:

“All territorial officers, before entering upon their official duties, shall take an oath affirmation to support the Constitution and laws of the Confederate States and of this Territory and faithfully to discharge all duties incumbent upon them.”

It will be noted that the oath is required only of “territorial officers,” and not, it seems, of district and county officers. This may have been done with an eye to the future and in silent recognition of the changing fortunes of war. At any rate it does not appear in the files or on the record that any of the judges ever took an oath of office. I say judges because there were several of them. The first judge of the District Court of the First District was one W. C. Cook. However, he never appears to have held court, but confined himself to appoint as clerk of court one Charles A. Hoppin. The latter assisted Frank Higgins,¹ first but

1. Frank Higgins was a member of the Territorial House of Representatives of New Mexico in 1863 and District Attorney of the Third Judicial District in 1865. He died in 1868 and the coroner's inquest found that 'he came to his death by reason of acute gastritis accompanied with ulceration of the stomach.' T. B. Catron was appointed admistrator of his estate.

The United States of America
District of New Mexico
Third Judicial District Court
County of Valencia

April Term
1852

To the Sheriff of the County of Valencia
New Mexico.

Whereas the Grand Jury of Valencia County having
at the April Term A.D. 1852 of said Court
been and held at the Town of Tome in said County
of Valencia of the Territory aforesaid on Tuesday
the 27th day of April A.D. 1852 of said April
Term returned a true bill of indictment against
Felipe Garcia for the murder of Abraham & C. S.
Carter, to which said charge the said Garcia
plead Not Guilty, and whereas a grand jury law-
fully sworn and empanelled on Thursday the 29th day
of April A.D. 1852. returned by their Foreman James
Sullivan the following verdict:

We the Jurors find Felipe Garcia Guilty of
Murder and working of death

James Sullivan

Foreman of the Jury

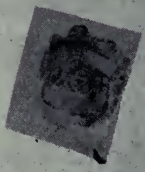
And whereas the said Felipe Garcia was after the
verdict of said Jury on the day aforesaid sentenced
by the Hon. Rocco Wood Presiding Judge of the
Third Judicial District Court of the United States for
the Territory of New Mexico to

be returned into the Custody of the ^{Sheriff of the} County of Valencia
and that he be well guarded and securely
confin'd and that the Sheriff of the County of
Valencia shall on the Friday 10th day of May
A.D. 1852 at 12 o'clock noon hang the said Felipe
Garcia by the neck until he be dead; and
may God have mercy on his soul

all of which appear upon the record of our
said Court
And we hereby command to well guard
and securely confine the said Felipe Garcia, and
on the Twelfth day of May A.D. 1852 at 12
O'clock noon you do hang the said Felipe Garcia
in the neck until he be dead.
And if you fail not to do on the first day
of next next term of our aforesaid Court hand
you then and then this writ and show unto this
Court that you shall have executed the same.

Witness the Honorable Manuel Presiding
Judge of the Third Judicial district Court
at Santa Fe the 29th day of April in the
Year of Our Lord Eighteen hundred
and Fifty two.

Manuel Winstone



Clerk of the United States district Court
for the Third Judicial district of the
Territory of New Mexico

And my private seal the
official seal being provided

Retorno y dele de su cumplimiento Colgado a l de
 Manda. del presente hasta que mueras y despus
 fue puesto su cuerpo de bato de la tierra en
 este dia 25 de Mayo de 1852 en Home a las
 12 de este dia a p el Ayuntamiento de la Corroquia.
 Doy fe Librado
 [Signature]

see the Vacuo filed Mija Davilla wife
 of murder and involving as well
 the Vacuo
 [Signature]

Guantanamo
 25 de Mayo de 1852

5114

not last Confederate Probate judge of Doña Ana County, in opening the court on August 8th, 1861, just one week after the proclamation by Colonel Baylor. The first page of the Probate Court Record is herewith reproduced. From it appears that the Probate Judge and the Sheriff, one John A. Roberts, held their commissions "from Lt, Col John R. Baylor."

The first business in the mind of the court was to gather in some shekels, which were probably scarce, and so the first order is one which requires all previous office-holders in the county from top to bottom to appear in court one week later and "account" for moneys in their hands and to pay same "into court."

The immediate result was not, however, very promising. Daniel Frieze, Treasurer, on the day appointed paid \$2.79 into the Confederate Treasury. Rafael Bermudez, a justice of the peace, produced \$6.50; the sheriff paid over \$18.37. This was hardly much of a starter and so the court laid tribute on public balls and fandangos of \$3.00 each and on pool and billiard tables.

On August 20th, Judge Higgins had his first criminal case of importance when Juan Avalos was bound over to the Grand Jury of the District Court in \$25,000 bail. This amount of bail was entirely out of line with the usual bail then required for murder indictments, which was generally one thousand dollars. The amount was probably fixed by Judge Higgins out of considerations similar to those which cause present day magistrates to hold communists, wobblies, and other would-be social reformers under twenty thousand dollars bail on charges of unlawful assembly,—I mean fear,—and evidently Higgins was afraid of Avalos. The latter may have been a northern sympathizer like most of his race. But the judgment caused a commotion and after due deliberation and further consideration the bail was reduced to the more reasonable and current amount of one thousand (paper) dollars.

At the September term of Probate Court only nine

jurors showed up of which three were excused. The court ordered that the non-appearing jurors should pay a fine of \$5.00 each but it is not on record that they either appeared or ever paid the fine.

The insecurity of the day and the many fade-outs and quick get-aways of the time are well indicated by the fact that out of the first thirty-five cases filed in this court eighteen were in attachment of vamoosed debtors. The total number of cases filed at the September term was sixty-five.

Frank Higgins was admitted to practice at the bar of the District Court of Arizona Territory on the 17th day of December, 1861, when he filed his oath as an attorney at law, and, probably finding this profession more remunerative than that of officeholder under the Confederate Territorial government he resigned as Probate Judge. John Peter Deus succeeded him and held a term of court in February. But when May came around and news of the defeat of General Sibley in the north had filtered down to Mesilla things looked a bit differently. On May 5th the following entry appears of record:

“It appearing to the Honorable Court that in consideration of the disturbed condition of the County it would be impossible to hold this term of this court and conduct its business with satisfaction to the parties interested in suits pending herein the court is adjourned to Monday the 2d day of June, 1862.”

But when the 2d day of June came the situation from a southern point of view looked worse than in May and John Peter Deus held no court. “The Hon. J. Peter Deus having filed his notice of resignation of the judgeship of this Court this Court is adjourned until the next regular July term.” Mr. Charles A. Hoppin who made this entry was too optimistic. The Confederate dominion had been of short duration based on conquest and with the arrival of the California Column the Confederate sympathizers hid themselves south.

The next entry on the Probate Court record is dated April 8th, 1863, and witnesses the United States of America, Territory of New Mexico as again the sovereign government. To make it certain that the Record should leave no doubt of the sovereignty under which the court claimed jurisdiction a new page was started with an elaborate heading in a fine Spencerian script:

“The United States of America.”

(See Illustration B)

The new court avowed that said officers were “holding their commissions from His Excellency W. F. M. Army, acting governor of the Territory of New Mexico.” Army was Secretary of the Territory but owing to the illness of Gov. Connelly performed most of the duties of the governor’s office until after the war was over.

The District Court of the First Judicial District of the Territory of Arizona in the Confederate State of America did not last as long or hold as many sessions as did the Probate Court. As I have said the first District Judge was W. C. Cook. But there is no record of his office except the appointment of a clerk. The first and only term of court was the November term, 1861. As a preliminary to this term we find an entry as follows:

Confederate States of America

Territory of Arizona)

County of Doña Ana)

First Judicial District Court

October 7th, 1861.

This day issued written notices to F. Higgins, Esq., Judge of the Probate Court in and for the County of

Doña Ana and to John A. Roberts Sheriff of said County and a verbal notice to W. L. Dexter, Esq., to be and appear at the Court-House of this County on Tuesday the 8th day of October, 1861, at 11 o'clock of said day to be present at the drawing of the Grand and Petit Jurors for the November term 1861 of the 1st Judicial District Court of the Territory of Arizona. Summons also issued to W. B. Blanchard Deputy Sheriff.

This day appeared George Ackenback one of the Securities on the bond of J. A. Roberts Sheriff of the County of Doña Ana and withdrew his name from said bond.

The next day the court re-assembled with Judge S. Hare presiding, and Probate Judge Higgins, Sheriff John A. Roberts, W. L. Dexter, and Deputy Sheriff Blanchard in attendance. The list of the Grand Jury drawn was as follows:

1. Marcellino Gallegos
2. Panfilo Gonzales
3. Royal Yeaman
4. Jose Maria Chavis (note spelling)
5. George W. Putnam
6. J. E. Greggs
7. Pierre Duvalde
8. W. A. Clarke
9. Guadalupe Olivares
10. Abran Duran
11. Juan Chavis
12. Bibez Pineda
13. Thomas J. Bull
14. Nepo Ancheta
15. Ewd Dickinson
16. Pablo Cordova
17. Juan Jose Lopez
18. George Ackenback

19. Pablo Alvarado
20. Jose Vicemenda
21. Refugio Roderiguez

The first Petit Jury panel was drawn as follows :

1. Miguel Fierro
2. Miguel Montoya
3. Roman Gonzales
4. Francisco Perea
5. Alejandro Maldonado
6. Pedro Alderete
7. Jimas Barrio
8. Antonio Torres
9. Frank De Ryther
10. Francisco Maldonado
11. Jose Telles
12. Elijio Provincio
13. George R. Clarke
14. John M. Graw
15. John McLaughlin
16. Pablo Madrid
17. Juan Marveau
18. Santos Rojas
19. Eugenio Lopez
20. J. P. Lynch
21. Jules Jeaneverette
22. Ramon Cerna
23. Felipe Madrid
24. Wm. Caldwell.

Having drawn a jury the court adjourned. But when Monday the 3d day of November came along and with it the first day of the term the court found that it was easy to draw a jury or two but not so easy to make them serve. On that day only nine men out of the 45 summoned put in their appearance. So on the following day, Tuesday November 4th, the court deemed it advisable to adjourn until the second Monday in December, which was the 8th. On December 9th the Grand Jury was empanelled with

Thomas J. Bull as foreman. George R. Clarke who had been drawn as a petit jurymen was admitted to practice as an attorney. Pedro Duvalde was excused from jury duty as he claimed to be a subject of the Emperor of France. On the next day James A. Lucas,² who had been president of the convention to establish Arizona Territory at Tucson in 1860, was admitted as an attorney and counsellor and with him T. T. Teel. The Confederate Attorney General of the Territory by the grace of Lt. Colonel Baylor was M. H. Macwillie, and, with provision made for the defendants by the admission of the attorneys, the court started its regular grind of business, but not until D. H. Stickney had been made bailliff and Calvin W. Robinson interpreter, both of whom filed their oaths "as required by an Act of Congress of the Confederate States of America." The first indictment returned by the Grand Jury was that of Lev-cadio Valencia who was charged with murder. Joseph Sherman was charged with an assault with intent to kill José Soto. This indictment is the only one remaining in the files and is herewith reproduced. ("D") The reason it was not destroyed is that when the United States courts returned to power the case of Sherman was again taken up and he was reindicted. His crime appears to have been suggested by Demon Rum. The original affidavit charging him with the assault recites that on September 2d, 1861, "about 2 o'clock in the evening" Jose Sherman called at the house of José Soto. "One Joe Sherman so called," says the affidavit which was sworn to by the injured man's wife, Ynes Trujillo, "came to the House of her and her husband under the influence of liquor that after indulging in much rude conduct about the House he drew a sixshooter

2. According to the published session laws Lucas was a member of the N. M. Territorial House of Representatives of the 4th Assembly in 1854. Lucas was also Secretary to the Acting Confederate government. He was one these against whose property libel proceedings were brought in 1863. In these proceedings it was testified by several witnesses that the last they saw of Lucas was when he was leaving the country with the "troops of the so-called Confederate States of America" going in the direction of El Paso.

and run her husband into the House and as he was holding the door on the inside the said Sherman fired a shot at him which passed the door and struck him in the lower part of the Belly. That the said Sherman then mounted his horse and fled up the Valley." The affidavit was sworn to before Samuel G. Bean,³ Justice of the Peace, who forthwith issued a warrant and also subpoenaed some witnesses as appears from the subpoena illustrated on another page. ("E") The Justice found Sherman guilty and held him under one hundred dollars bail for appearance at the next term of the District Court, failing to give which Sherman was lodged in jail for a few hours until some of his friends came to his rescue and gave bond for him.

Among others indicted was Ulysses Grandjean charged with an assault with intent to murder, and his case seems to have been the only one tried. He was found guilty of simple assault and fined ten dollars. How troublesome the times were and how violent is shown by the indictment of six others for murder, Otto Hackardt, Desiderio Gomes, J. W. Smilling, Henry Elam, Edward Colbert and Matty Taylor. What became of these cases the record does not disclose.⁴

Ten days after it was empanelled the Grand Jury on December 19th was discharged. Two days later Judge S. Hare approved the minutes of the court and thus ended the only Confederate District Court held within the confines of the present New Mexico. But there was one more entry on March 31st, 1862, when the court ordered warrants drawn on the Treasury of the Territory of Arizona to pay the Clerk for his services. Even then signs were accumulating that the end of Confederate rule was not far off. Whether Mr. Hoppin ever was able to exchange his warrant for actual cash or its equivalent is at least doubtful.

3. Samuel G. Bean was before 1860 a Deputy U. S. Marshal. His property was also libelled in 1863.

4. It is possible that files of the contemporary paper Mesilla Times would provide further facts but they were not available to the writer.

What became of the honorable district judge when the California Column arrived is problematical. Probably he joined the last Confederate Probate Judge, John Peter Deus, and went south to more congenial surroundings. Deus is said to have settled in El Paso County, Texas, and some of his descendants are said to be living there now. Higgins, as I have stated, remained in Mesilla. He was probably not a very enthusiastic supporter of the temporary regime; but he, like many present day politicians found no great difficulty in attaching himself to whatever party offered the best chance for a job.

On the development of New Mexico morally, financially, and politically the interlude of Confederate Jurisdiction had scarcely any effect. It is a curiosity, a historical pas seul, a curious comment on the impotency of human imaginative grandeur: "We will not recognize the present Black Republican Administration," had been the slogan of the convention of the Confederates at Mesilla, in March 1861. But when the March winds blew again in 1862 the sympathizers of the South found their power and resistance weakening every day. The next year was one of military rule but in the spring of 1863 civil war was at an end in New Mexico. Even though for some time there were flare-ups in the southern part of the State that had their origin in the Confederate Occupation, the federal courts functioned again.

A GLIMPSE OF NEW MEXICO

IN 1620

LANSING B. BLOOM

Those who are familiar with early Spanish history in the Southwest know how meager is the information which we have as to actual events and conditions in New Mexico during the century which preceded the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. This is due, of course, to the fact that in that uprising all the government archives in Santa Fe up to that time were completely destroyed. Any records, therefore, which help to supply this great lack in New Mexico history are especially desirable.¹

Such a record is the document which is here translated and which comes from the *Archivo General de Indias*.² It gives a most interesting insight into the difficulties which were experienced by the Father Custodian and the other Franciscan missionaries on the one hand, and the Governor and the civilian-military colonists on the other, in adjusting their respective authorities and responsibilities during the term in office of Governor Juan de Eulate.

Perhaps it is a platitude to say that it has always been human nature for us to claim our own "rights" and to insist on the other man's "duties." It is a conflict

1. This lack is being met in large measure by the Carnegie Institution publication of "Documentary Material for the History of New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches Thereto," vol. iii, which is in press, based on the materials gathered by Bandelier and now edited by Dr. Charles W. Hackett.

A mass of material for this period also was secured last winter in Mexico City by Asst. Prof. France Scholes, University of New Mexico, who intends shortly to begin in the *New Mexico Historical Review* a study of the Inquisition in New Mexico. Material on 17th century New Mexico is also being secured this year in Spain by representatives of the Historical Society of New Mexico and The School of American Research, working in conjunction with the Library of Congress.

2. A. G. L., 58-3/18.

which readily springs up in any newly organized community, and this is what New Mexico was at this time. Altho we cannot refer to the mass of "letters, memorials, testimonies and informations" upon which the viceroy and his councilors based their decision, nevertheless as we read the details of this pronouncement it is not difficult to visualize the situation which had resulted there from the conflicting claims, more especially as between Governor and Custodian but also as between the Franciscans and the "Spaniards:" nor without significance are the warnings against undue exactions from the Pueblo Indians in "tribute" and labor of various kinds.

The title of the archive needs a few words of explanation in connection with the four dates which appear in it. The viceroy states that he held a council, in Mexico City, on July 29, 1620. The title indicates that this was done in conformity with an Order from the king in Spain, received in Mexico City as "the fifth chapter of the Government letter of March 10, 1620"—which letter could have reached Mexico before July 29th of that year. Why the decision of the viceroy (after his deliberations with the "Junta of New Mexico") was not dated, or apparently sent to Eulate, until February 5, 1621 (as shown at the end of the archive), is not clear unless their decision was first sent back to Spain for approval; if this was done, the lapse of about six months would have been necessary.

The date at the end might be taken to be the date when this "copy" was made "from one of the books of the government" (in Mexico City) and sent to Spain; but this interpretation seems impossible in view of the fourth date which appears in the archive. This is on the second page where the viceroy refers to "the Royal provision of January 9th of this year." This must have been in 1621, because the *junta* was held on "July 29th of the past year

of 1620"; also a royal cedula rebuking Fray Esteban de Perea *was* issued in 1621.³

But a royal cedula which issued in Spain on January 9, 1621, could not possibly have reached Mexico City by February 5 of that year, the date of this archive. If the above reasoning is correct, the only explanation of this last difficulty is that the viceroy in New Spain was actually "lieutenant" (vice-roy) of the king in Old Spain and, as such, himself issued the cedula of January 9th to Perea. That a viceroy did at times literally act as king, speaking as in his place, has been noted in other connections; and in this document, notice the use of the second person plural with which Eulate is addressed thruout. In the Spanish patrimony, the king (and therefore his lieutenant) was superior to both custodian and governor.

The title at the head of the archive probably is not that carried by the original order as it was sent to Governor Eulate. That original was "recorded" in Mexico City; and from that record a copy was drawn off (by the same secretary) and was sent under its present title to Spain, where it was deposited in the *Archivo General de Indias*. It is that copy which is here translated.⁴

Copy of what was provided in an order to the government of New Mexico based on the fifth Chapter of the Government letter of March 10, 1620.

Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, Marques de Guadalcazar, Viceroy,⁵ Lieutenant of the King our Lord, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, and president

3. Fray Esteban de Perea was the *custodio* during these years, and was also the representative in New Mexico of the Inquisition.

4. The translation of this important archive was done largely by Maude Mc Fie Bloom. For final revision and editing the writer must admit responsibility.

5. The Marques de Guadalcazar was viceroy of New Spain from 1612 to 1621, and was therefore familiar with New Mexico affairs from the time of Governor Juan de Peralta (1609-1613).

of the Royal *Audiencia*⁶ and Chancery therein located, &c: To You, Don Joan de Eulate, Governor of the provinces of New Mexico, or to the person in whose charge their government may be. Know Ye: that in the Junta which I held on July 29th of the past year of 1620 with the two *licenciados*⁷ Don Francisco de Leoz [and Don]Joan de Paz de Vallezillo and Doctor Galdos de Valencia, councilors of longest tenure in the said Audiencia, and with the presence of His Majesty's *fiscal*⁸ in the [Audiencia], in conformity with the Order which has been followed for the dispatch and regulating of the business relating to those said provinces,⁹ there were seen various letters, missives, memorials, testimonies and other advices which have been sent from those [Provinces] by you, the said Don Joan de Eulate, and by many other persons both ecclesiastic and secular, from which it [the junta] has become informed of certain differences and disputes which there have been between you and the Father Custodian of the Religious of Sr. St. Francisco¹⁰ and the Religious¹¹ themselves of those said provinces as well in matters of jurisdiction as in other different [matters] which are contained in the said letters, memorials, testimonies, and informations; And inasmuch as already on other occasions in the time of your predecessors¹² from similar beginnings there have arisen very serious outbreaks and scandals which were more worthy of remedy than of imitation and so that henceforth there may be such procedure as to avoid similar controversies

6. Spanish terms which do not have a close English equivalent have been kept in the original. The *audiencia* was the advisory council in the viceroyalty; and was also the supreme tribunal of justice, *chancilleria*.

7. Advocate, attorney-at-law. But *licenciado* and *doctor* here probably indicate advanced university training.

8. Prosecuting-attorney is perhaps the nearest equivalent.

9. He refers to the "Order" indicated in the title.

10. As already stated, this was Fray Esteban de Perea.

11. The Spanish word is plural; an awkward translation, but "clergy" is not equivalent.

12. Gov. Juan de Oñate resigned in 1608. His first regularly appointed successor was Don Pedro de Peralta (1609-13), who was followed by "Admiral" Don Bernardino de Zeballos (1613-17) Eulate's term was from 1617 to 1621. Mr. Scholes states that all four of them were in trouble with the Inquisition.

and that there may be between You and the said Padre Custodian, [between] one and the other Republic ecclesiastic and secular, every good relation and harmony, Peace, security and quiet of those said provinces and their natives: I inform You that, by Royal regulation dispatched

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and its exercise on the ninth of January of this year, His Majesty exhorts and charges the said Father Custodian that, in the exercise of ordinary legal duties in those said provinces, he use it according to law in the spiritual and ecclesiastical cases which may be within his jurisdiction and that in these cases he alone Proceed without the intermeddling of the other Religious of his custody nor in anything else except the administration of the holy sacraments without spreading themselves to make *autos*¹³ over what they may wish to appeal before the said Custodian nor any others, and that in those [autos] that he may make he proceed, whether on petition of some party or on his own initiative, always in writing before a notary public if there should be one, and if not, he shall appoint him in form, and that if the layman or laymen against whom process should be made should feel themselves aggrieved by the definitive sentences or [fearing] that the interlocutory *autos* might have force of a definitive [sentence] or penalty which thereby it might not be possible to correct and they should appeal to the metropolitan judge, the archbishop of Mexico, and should protest [against] the Royal aid in its enforcement, he should not proceed to the execution of his decisions until after this said Royal Audiencia declare whether they have force or no. Wherefore let him send to the [Audiencia] the original *processo*¹⁴ which he may

13. An *auto*, in the sense here indicated, is the record in judicial form of a trial or hearing. An *auto definitivo* is such a record carrying the force of a sentence; an *auto interlocutorio* is the record of a case which has not been decided definitely.

14. A *processo* is the entire body of proceedings and writings in a judicial case. As here used, the word means the formal statement of the case.

have issued with all the *autos* without leaving out anything, in the meantime absolving those who, because of the cause, he may have excommunicated, lifting and removing whatever censures and interdicts he may have imposed; And that in the executive ecclesiastical causes, cognizance of which may pertain to his ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, he proceed according to Law, observing in the form and substance of the Judgment what is provided By the laws of the Kingdom, noting that in cases of sacrilege, of concubinage and of the others which may be of mixed *fuero*¹⁵ the [civil] Judge who might officiate must be informed about them and that against Lay persons he [the Custodio] may not Proceed in any manner except it be in ecclesiastical cases according to Law, and that in these [cases] he may not execute sentence of imprisonment without First asking the help of the Secular arm¹⁶ from You, the said governor, or from Your Lieutenant, that ye may furnish it to him, [he] informing you in writing of the Justification of the Said imprisonment. So shall ye have it understood, in order that it may be known to you in what form it is necessary to proceed in such causes, and I command you that when in the case the Father custodian may have to proceed to imprisonment against some secular [person] and may request you for help of the Secular Arm to effect the said imprisonment ye heed the Said cause because the Said custodian so Proceeds and, the Said order of imprisonment having justification, ye shall give him the said help in order to execute it. —————

Elections And Because on the part of the said custodian and [other] Religious some complaints have been

15. *Fuero* in etymology is akin to *fuera*, "outside." The *fueros* were class privileges, or exemptions, which, as a Spanish institution, run far back into the Middle Ages. An ecclesiastic, claiming exemption from the civil authorities, would be tried in a church court; similarly a soldier, in a military court. In the United States, with separation of Church and State, there is no such deference to any church judiciary; but the army has its "court martial" or "military court."

16. The established procedure of the Inquisition was to deliver a condemned person "to the secular arm."

presented to me to the effect that Ye interfere in the matters under their care even to naming the *fiscales*¹⁷ of the church and in other lesser things, Ye Shall give order how each of the pueblos of those provinces, on the first day of January of each year, may hold its elections of governor, *alcaldes*,¹⁸ *topiles*,¹⁹ *fiscales* and the others who serve the Republic, without You or any other Judiciary, the custodian or other Religious being present at the said elections, so that in them the said Indians may have the liberty which is fitting. And the [elections] which in this manner they may hold, they shall report them to You that ye may confirm them if they have been effected by the majority and with the liberty Stated, that everything is in accord with what is customary in this New Spain.————

On consulting And ye shall maintain Good relations
with the with the said father custodian and the
Religious other religious, without intruding your-
self in causes and business touching their persons and the
administration of the doctrine which is under their charge,
nor in the other ecclesiastical matters which belong to
them; and upon cases which may import to the common
Good of the baptized Indians and for the *Universal Con-
servation of the Republic* both of Spaniards and Indians
ye shall consult with the Said father Custodian of those
Provinces and with the *guardian*²⁰ of the convent of that
Villa of Sanct. Fee, and [with] two other *definidores*²¹

17. What is meant by "fiscales de la iglesia" is not clear. It may be that an official was appointed to look after the financial interests of the Franciscans in New Mexico, but more probably the governor had assumed to appoint the "prosecuting attorney," the one who should handle cases in the ecclesiastical court.

18. The *alcalde* was the ordinary municipal authority in a place, charged with its immediate government. But he was more than the "mayor" of a city or town "council." He also had the powers of a judge, - which is the meaning of the Arabic original.

19. *Topil* is a word of Indian origin, meaning "rod of justice." The official would correspond to a sheriff or constable.

20. *Guardian* means the "prelate ordinary of a convent," or the religious superior.

21. The *definidores* were those members who, with the superior, formed the council or "corporation" of the convent.

of the Order if there be such and if not with the Two Religious of longest service in that Custody, and with the *cabildo*²² of that Said Villa, and with the Captains and soldiers whom you may think best, so that, having listened to All [of them], Ye alone may decide what may seem to you best for His Majesty's service. And in everything ye shall proceed with the tactful prudence and good consideration which is expected of Your person. And if in such council there be found someone who is of contrary opinion and, because your decision is not in accord with his [opinion], should request a Testimony, ye shall give it to him, [thus] being understood the holding of Juntas in the form described and with the persons Stated, if ye should find yourself in the Said Villa of Sancta Fee, capital of those provinces; but if ye should find yourself in some other pueblo or on the road ye shall Comply by making the said Junta with the Captains whom ye may have with you and with the other Persons as may appear to you best and with the Religious who may be ministering at that time. And as for the rest, neither the Said father custodian nor any other Religious may interfere with You nor with the other judiciaries of His majesty nor shall they impede you in the use and exercise of your jurisdiction and government, but in everything they shall hold with You and the said Judiciaries Good and courteous relations, for so does His majesty charge them in the Said regulation.²³ _____

Courtesy in And let the Said Custodian give Order
preaching that, when anyone of his Religious may
preach in your precence, he Do Courtesy to you with the
Head and with the cap without saying anything to you,
and that if the said custodian should be attending at the
same time, afterwards he may do him another like cour-
tesy. _____

22. *Cabildo*, a term later superseded by *ayuntamiento*, was the municipal council, with the *alcalde* at its head. It could sit as a civil court.

23. The "royal regulation of January 9, 1621" above cited.

Tribute I command you that upon the pueblos which from this time forth may be converted to our Holy Catholic faith and reduced to obedience to His majesty ye do not impose new tributes without order from me or from the Viceroy in whose charge the government of New Spain may be. And when there may be reason to impose such new tributes ye shall report the motives that ye may have for so doing, and the custodian and the minister of Doctrine of such pueblos shall do the same, so that, in view of all, the Viceroy may provide that which may be proper and for the present and until making these representations no tributes shall be collected from the pueblos of Zuñi and Moqui in those Said provinces which are said actually to be Gentile²⁴ and to whom no spiritual aid in doctrine is being given on the part of His majesty, nor any temporal [aid] in order to defend them from their enemies. And as to the rest, the said Custodian and the Religious shall not impede You nor the *encomenderos*²⁵ in collecting the tributes of the pueblos from which their collection may already be established. —————

Mass for And you will have care that the said
the Indians Custodian, in conformity with that which is laid upon him by the Said Royal regulation, so arrange that to the Indian pueblos, wherever there may be a church, a Religious go on Sundays and feast days to say mass for them, instruct them in Doctrine and administer the Sacraments so that they be not incommoded by taking them for this purpose from one pueblo to another.

Shearing And since it has been understood that because of some errors and light causes for which action

24. To the Spaniards, any Indians who had not been Christianized were "Gentiles."

25. An *encomendero* was one to whom by royal grant a specified number of the conquered Indians were "commended" or entrusted. Theoretically he was required to look after their spiritual and material welfare; in practice he was chiefly interested in the tribute and labor to which he was entitled from them by such *merced*.

has been brought against some Indians they have had their hair sheared,²⁶ a punishment at which they take great affront and as a result of which some have fled to the Rock of Ácoma, reverting to idolatry, and other grave inconveniences [have resulted], I command you that ye do not inflict nor allow to be inflicted on the Said Indians such punishments but rather ye shall give orders that the recently converted [Indians] be shown all good treatment and consideration. _____

Burden- And inasmuch as the Said father Custodian by his letter has informed me that bearers the Spaniards Residing in those provinces afflict the Indians exceedingly by loading them with wood and the tribute from their *encomiendas* and any other burdens which they happen to want taken from one place to another, altho they have enough horses on which they are able to carry them, and because this is prohibited by cedula of His majesty, I command you that ye observe and comply with the [cedula], seeing to it that it is executed in detail and wholly according to what His majesty orders in it, not permitting that the said Indians be made burden-bearers and so protecting them that such impositions shall not be put on them. _____

Work- Also account has been given me that the levies Said Indians endure unusual inconveniences and labor in the Distributions by which ye send them out a hundred at a time or forty at a time on occasions when the [Spaniards] are doing their sowing, and on other occasions when they are busy on their ranches and that nothing is paid the [Indians] for their work; and be-

26. *Trasquila* has also the meaning of "branding," but "hair-shearing" is doubtless meant here. What this form of punishment would mean to Pueblos Indians will be understood by anyone who has seen them dancing in their ceremonies with long flowing hair. It would have been like cutting off a Chinaman's que.

cause it is most necessary to look to the conservation, comfort and good treatment of the Said Indians: I command you that the allotting which ye may have to make of them be only that of tilling and herding and for no other purpose, and even this ye shall make from the pueblos which may be convenient to it so that the Indians be not molested, and the number that ye may have to apportion shall be at the ratio of two percent of those who may be in each pueblo in ordinary time, which is when they²⁷ are not sewing or reaping, and in time of double [work] which is when there is the said reaping and sowing ye shall make the said apportionment at the rate of eight per cent, giving orders that the said Indians be paid for their work at the rate of half a *real*²⁸ and their food each day, and their food not being provided they shall be paid one *real* for each day; and ye shall take great care that good treatment be done them, and to those Spaniards who may not so do nor pay them for their work ye shall not allow any more Distribution of Indians from that time forth. And because it is understood that, from having given to the citizens of that Villa of Sancta Fee Indian women in Distribution, there have resulted some offences to God Our Lord, from henceforth ye shall not make the said allotment of Indian women nor shall ye oblige them to go to serve in the said Villa nor anywhere else unless it be that they go with their husbands [and] voluntarily, and ye shall protect them so that no person, of whatever estate or quality he be, may take them to perform such service. —————

Escort
duty

And because the Said Religious of those
provinces have represented to me that

27. The viceroy's use of the pronoun "they" is revealing as to the *encomendero* attitude towards the Indian. Of course he means "the Spaniards;"

28. A *real* was the equivalent of thirty-four *maravedís*, which was then the Spanish monetary unit. Its purchase value is indicated by the comparison with a day's food—which is here valued at half a *real*.

when they go out from the provinces thru hostile country every three years to come to this New Spain for the supplies which are furnished them,²⁹ ye oblige them to pay the soldiers who come as their escort thru the said hostile country, asking me to order this remedied so that the said payment be not required of them, and so also that the said escort be given them when they go to the Indian pueblos to administer to them the holy Sacraments which they say ye often excuse [the Spaniards from]: Ye shall give orders that the soldiers in those Said provinces who have *encomiendas*³⁰ shall perform the said escort duty for the Religious who came for the Said supplies without exacting anything from them for it, and ye shall provide likewise an escort for the Said Religious whenever they go to the Indian pueblos to administer to them the Doctrine, accommodating this the best that may be possible according to the people that there are in that Said Villa, so that the Said religious may not leave off administering the holy Sacraments to the said Indians. —————

Pastures of the governor It is said also that Ye, the Said governor, have in those said provinces some pastures of large and small stock, and because, according to the obligation of your office and the laws of these Realms, ye cannot have this grange or others, ye will be advised of it so as not to contravene what is so Established by Law under the penalty thereof. —————

Pastures of *encomenderos* Likewise it is understood that the *encomenderos* of those provinces and other persons have also their pastures of the said stock near the pueblos and sewed fields of the Indians whereby much damage is done them, and so that they Receive not the [said damage] Ye shall give order as to how this may be

29. This was the triennial "supply-train" which had become an established procedure dating from Oñate's time.

30. This is believed to have included all of the original colonists.

31. *Milpa* is another word of Indian origin.

remedied, managing it with great care and warning [them] that the pastures of large stock must be kept at least three leagues distant from the pueblos and [Indian] fields²¹; and ye shall give order that the horse-herd of the soldiers is to be kept apart from the Said pueblos and fields at least three leagues except such part as is very necessary [and] that [these horses] shall be corraled at night and shall be hobbled by day so that they do no harm, and ye shall not forbid the said Indians to guard their sowings and fields and those of the Religious [but] rather ye shall allow the denunciations which they may make by reason of the damages which may have been done them, doing them Justice quickly and summarily. _____

The Villa and its By some of the letters from You and fortification from the *cabildo* of that Villa of Sancta Fee I have understood ye are discussing the placing of the said Villa in [form of] defence by moving it to a better site on a squared location with four Towers; and for this object to erect a church [and] government buildings and to carry on the work, ye ask me for a quantity of iron, steel, picks, axes and other tools and supplies which ye say will be necessary for the above said [purposes]. And because such a change does not appear to be advisable without mature council, I command you that for the present ye make no innovation as to moving the said Villa—and if it still should seem advisable to make it, ye shall inform me, Ye the said governor and the *cabildo* of the [Villa], the father Custodian of the Religious of these provinces, The guardian of that convent and the two *definidores* if there be such, and if not, then the two Religious of longest service, stating the place to which ye contemplate moving the [Villa], what conveniences and benefits [will] result from doing so and the manner in which it will be possible to put it into execution and whether it will be laborious and troublesome to the Indians, and for a better understanding of everything ye shall send me a map of the site

and all details; and the some information ye shall give me as to the fortification which ye contemplate making; and as touching the repairs on the Royal buildings and the church which there are already in that said Villa and for the defence of it [the Villa,] the cultivation of the fields and gardens, the erection of buildings and other things which are absolutely necessary, I am sending you six hundredweight of crude iron and two of steel; two hundred picks, one hundred axes, thirty adzes, twelve doublebladed axes, twenty chisels, twelve planes and a like number of *junteras*,³² two hundredweight of nails, ten hundredweight of powder, thirty of lead; eighty gratings,³³ and five hundred reaping-hooks which ye will distribute by count and with discretion and for the greatest usefulness which may be possible and to the advantage of the Royal treasury. —————

Blazonry It is said further that Ye have your coat of arms painted on cloths in order to place them in the churches. If this is correct, ye shall not do so. ————

Parish and And as to the parochial church which
curate it is proposed to found in that said Villa of Sancta Fee and as to sending a curate vicar for it, inasmuch as there is already there a church and a convent of Sant. Francisco which seems sufficient for the number of residents that there now is, there is no occasion at present for it to be done. —————

Decision And because in the service of God Our Lord and of His majesty the observance and fulfilment of all the contents of this mandate tends to the peace, quietness, harmony and good government of those Provinces — I command You that ye observe, comply and execute and see that [others] observe, comply and execute wholly and completely according and as is herein contained

32. A *juntera* is a special kind of *cepilla* (carpenter's plane) which is used for grooving. The English term is

33. *Rejas* were the barred frames placed to defend windows.

—contrary to the tenor and form ye shall not go nor pass by, nor consent nor allow that [others] go or pass by in any manner, but rather that it be carried into due execution, to the end that in everything there may be peace and good relations, concord and concerted procedure and [that] government which has always been desired in those Said provinces, and if the contrary happens I shall provide such other more severe remedy as may be suitable. Done in Mexico, the fifth day of February in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-one. — The Marques de Guadalcázar. By order of the Viceroy, Francisco Nuñez Basurto.

Copied from one of the books of the government in my charge and corrected. _____

FRANCISCO NUÑEZ BASURTO
(with rubric)

It has been agreed upon. In the "Junta of New Mexico" on the matter of the government of those provinces in the form which is here set forth.

Copia de lo proueito en orden al gouierno del nueuo mexico
citada en el Capitulo 5º. de la carta de Gouierno
de 10 de Marzo 1620.¹

Don diego fernandez de Cordoua Marques de gualacaçar Virrey Lugar Theniente del Rey nro Señor Gouernador y Cappitan general de la nueua españa y pressidente de la audiencia y chancilleria R¹. que en ella Resside &c. A Vos don Joan de eulate Gouernador de las prouincias de la Nueva Mexico o a la persona a cuyo cargo fuere el gouierno de ellas. Sued. que en la junta que tuue en veinte y nueue de jullio de el ano Passado de mill y seiscientos y

1. Peculiarities of spelling, and the curious disregard for capitals and punctuation have been retained. The effort has been to give an exact reproduction of the archive in Sevilla.

veinte con los licenciados Don Fran^{co} de Leoz [y don]² Joan de paz de Vallezillo y Doctor galdos de Valencia Oidores mas antiguos de la dicha audiencia y Pressente el fiscal de Su magestad en ella en conformidad del Orden que se a guardado para el despacho y expediente de los negocios tocantes a esas dichas prouincias. Se vieron algunas cartas missiuas memoriales testimonios y otros Recaudos que de ellas aveis despachado vos el dicho don Joan de eulate y otras muchas personas assi ecclesiasticas como Seculares por los quales a constado de algunas diferencias y compe-
tencias que entre vos y el padre Custodio de los Religiosos de señor Sant Francisco y los mismos Religiosos de esas dichas prouincias a auido asi en materias de jurisdiction como en otras diferentes que en las dichas cartas memoriales testimonios y rrecaudos se contienen: Y como quiera que ya otras vezes en tiempo de vuestros antecessores de semejantes principios, se an ocassionado Grauiissimos Rompimientos y escandalos mas dignos de Remedio que de Ymitacion y para que de aqui adelante se Proceda de manera que se eviten semejantes controuersias y entre vos y el entre vos y el dicho padre Custodio vna y orta Republica ecclessiastic y Secular aya toda buena correspondencia y conformidad Paz seguridad y quietud de essas dichas prou^{as} y naturales de ellas: Os aduerto como por prouission Real despachada en nueue dias del mes de henero de este año Su Mag^d Ruega y encarga al dicho padre Custodio que Jurisdictioneccle-
exerciendo Jurisdiction Ordinaria en
siastica y exer-
essas dichas prouincias vsse de ella con-
cicio
forme a derecho en las causas spirituales
y ecclesiasticas que sean de su jurisdiction y que en estas
Proceda el solo sin que los demas Religiosos de Su custodia
se entremeten ni en mas que en la administracion de los
sanctos sacramentos sin que se alarguen a hazer auctos de
que se puede appellar para ante el dicho custodio ni otros
algunos, y que en los que el hiziere proceda a ora sea a
pedimiento de parte a ora de officio siempre por escripto
ante notario app^{co} si le ouiere y sino le nombrara en forma

2. The bracketed words are not in the original.

y que si el seglar o seglares contra quienes procediere se sintieren Agraviados de las sentencias difinictuias o auctos interlocutorios que tuieren fuerça de Difinictiua o grauamen que por ella no se pudiese Reparar y appellaren Para ante el Juez metropolitano arcobispo de Mexico y protestaren el Real auxilio de la fuerça no procediesse a execucion de sus determinaciones hasta tanto que esta dicha R¹ audiencia declare si haze fuerça o no Para lo qual embie a ella el processo original que vbiere fulminado con todas los auctos sin que falte cossa alguna absoluiendo en el interin a los que por la dicha caussa tuiere excomulgados alçando y quitando qualesquiera censuras y entre dichos que vbiere discernido: Y que en las causas executiuas ecclesiasticas cuyo conoscimiento pertenesciere a su Jurisdiction ecclesiastica, proceda conforme a Derecho. Guardando en la forma y substancia del Juizio lo dispuesto Por las leyes del Reyno. Aduirtiendo que en los cassos de Sacrilegios, amancebamientos y los demas que fueren de mixto fuero a de conocer de ellos el Juez que preuiniere y que contra personas Seculares no Proceda en manera alguna sino fuere en los cassos ecclesiasticos conforme a Derecho y que en estos no execute mandamiento de prission sino fuere pidiendo Priemor el auxilio del braço Seglar a Vos el dicho gouernador o a Vro Lugar theniente que se le impartieredes constandoos por lo escripto de la Justificacion de la Dicha prission. assi lo tendreis entendido para que os conste en que forma se deue proceder en semejantes causas y os mando que quando en el casso que el dicho padre custodio ubiere de proceder a prission contra algun secular y os pidiere el auxilio del Braço seglar para hazer la Dicha prission veais la Dicha caussa por que assi Proceda el Dicho custodio y teniendo justificacion el Dicho mandamiento de prission le dareis el dicho axuilio para executarle.——

Electiones. Y Porque de parte De el dicho custodio y Religiosos se me an Representado algunas quexas acerca de que Vos os entremeteis en las cossas de su cuidado ayn

hasta en nombrar los fiscales de la yglesia y otras mas menudas. Dareis orden como cada vno de los pueblos de esas prouincias el primero dia de henero de cada vn año haga sus elecciones de gouernador. Alcaldes topiles fiscales y Demas ministros de Republica sin que Vos ni otra Justicia el custodio ni otro Religioso se halle pressente a las Dichas Elecciones porque en ellas los dichos Yndios tengan la liuertad que conuiene. y las que en esta forma hizieren las lluearan ante Vos que las confirmareis estando hechas por la mayor parte y con la liuertad Referida que todo es en conformidad de lo que se acostumbra en esta nueva españa. _____

Consulta con Y tendreis Buena correspondencia con Religiosos. el dicho padre custodio y demas rreli-giosos sin entremeteros en causas y negocios tocantes a sus personas y a la administracion de la doctrina que esta a su cargo. ni a las demas cossas ecclesiasticas que les pertenecen. y los cassos que puliere ymportar al Bien comun de los Yndios baptizados y de la conseruacion *Vniuersal de la Republica* assi de españoles como de yndios los consultareis con el Dicho padre Custodio de esas prouincias y con el guardian del conuento de esa Villa de sancta fee. Y otros dos difinidores de la Orden si los vbiere y sino con Dos Religiosos los mas antiguos de esa Dicha Custodia y con el cabildo de esa Dicha Villa. y con los Cappitanes y soldados que os pareciere para que aviendo oydo a Todos Vos solo proueis lo que mas os pareciere conuenir al Seruicio de Su magestad. Y en todo procedereis con el tiento cordura y Buena consideracion que de Vra persona se fia. Y si alguno de los que en la tal junta se hallare fuere de contrario parecer a Por no determinar Vos conforme a el suyo pidiere Testimonio se le dareis entendiendo el hazer las Juntas en la forma Referida y con las personas Dichas, si os hallaredes en la Dicha Villa de Sancta fee cabeça de essas prouincias pero si os hallaredes en otro algun pueblo o en el camino Cumplireis haziendo la dicha

Dicha Real prouission se le encarga prouea de manera que a los pueblos de yndios donde vbiere yglessia vaya vn Religiosso los domingos y fiestas a dezilles missa Doctrinallos y Sacramentallos de Suerte que no Reciuan incommodidad Por sacallos para este efecto de vnos pueblos a otros,

Trasquila Y Porque se a entendido que por algunos yerros y causas leues por que se a procedido contra algunos indios an sido trasquilados castigo de que ellos Reciuén notable afrenta y de que a Resultado averse huido algunos al peñol de acoma Boluiendose a la ydolatria y otros graues ynconuenientes. Os mando no hagais ni consintais se les hagan a los Dichos Yndios semejantes castigos antes dareis orden que a los recién conuertidos se les haga en todo buen tratamiento y caricia, _____

Tamenes Y por quanto el Dicho padre Custodio por carta suya me a dado noticia que los Yndios cargandolos con leña y los tributos de sus encomiendas y otras qualesquiera cargas que se ofrece llevar de vnas partes a otras auiendo suficiente cantidad de Cauillos en que poderlas llevar y porque esto esta prohiuido por cedula de su mag^d. Os mando la guardeis y cumplais Haziendola executar en todo y por todo segun que por ella su mag^d. lo manda no consintiendo se carguen los dichos Yndios y amparandolos de forma que no se les hagan semejantes molestias, _____

Repartim^{to}. Tambien me a hecho Relacion que los Dichos indios padecen notables incommodidades y trauajos en los Repartimientos a que los embiais de ciento en ciento y de quarenta en quarenta en las ocasiones que estan haziendo sus sementeras, y en otras que estan ocupados en sus haziendas y que no se les paga cossa alguna por su trauajo: y porque conuiene mucho mirar por la conseruacion conmodidad y Buen tratamiento de los Dichos indios: Os mando que el Repartimiento que de ellos vbieredes de

hazer. sea solo para las labores y guarda de los ganados. y no para otro efecto y este le hareis de los pueblos que estuieren mas en comodidad para ello de manera que los indios no Reciuian molestia. y la cantidad que Ouieredes de Repartir sera a Razon de dos por ciento de los que ouiere en cada pueblo en tiempo de sencilla que es quando no se siega ni escarda y en tiempo de dobla que es quando ay la dicha escarda y siega hareis el dicho rrepartim^{to}. a Razon de ocho por ciento dando orden que a los dichos yndios les pague su trauajo a Razon de medio Real y de comer cada dia y no dandoles de comer se les pagara vn R^l. por cada dia: y tendreis mucho cuidado de que se les haga buen tratamiento y a los españoles que assi no lo hizieren o no les pagaren su trauajo no les dareis mas Yndios de Repartimiento de alli adelante: y porque se a entendido que de aver dado a los vezinos de esa Villa de Sancta fee yndias de Repartimiento se an seguido algunas ofensas de dios Nuestro Señor. De aqui adelante no hareis el dicho rrepartimiento de Yndias ni las obligareis a que vayan a seruir a la Dicha Villa ni a otra parte si ya no es que vayan con sus maridos voluntariamente, y las ampareis. para que ningunas personas de ningun estado y calidad que sean las lleuen a hazer el Dicho Seruicio, _____

Escolta Y porque los Dichos Religiosos de esas prouincias me an Representado que al tiempo que salen de ellas por tierra de guerra de tres a tres años para venir a esta nueua españa por el socorro que se les da. les obligais a que paguen a los soldados que les vienen haziendo escolta por la dicha tierra de guerra pidiendome lo mandase Remediar de forma que no se les obligase a la dicha paga y que assi mismo se les diese la dicha escolta quando va [n?]^s a los pueblos de los Yndios a administralles los sanctos Sacramentos que esto Dizen lo escusais mucho. Dareis orden como los soldados que en esas Dichas prouincias tienen

3. The archive is slightly torn here, but the "n" seems to be all that is missing.

encomiendas Hagan la dicha escolta a los rreliossos que vienen por el Dicho socorro sin lleuarles por ello cossa alguna. y prouereis assi mismo de escolta a los Dichos Reli-
giossos quando fueren a los pueblos de los indios a administrarles la Doctrina acomodando esto lo mejor que sea posible conforme a la gente que ay en essa Dicha Villa de forma que por falta de la seguridad necesaria los Dichos rreliossos no dexen de administrar a los dichos indios los sanctos Sacramentos. _____

estancias del Dizese Tambien que Vos el Dicho
gouernador gouernador teneis en esas dichas pro-
uincias algunas estancias de ganados mayores o menores. y porque a la obligacion vro officio y leyes de estos Reinos no podeis tener esta grangeria ni otras estareis aduertido de ello para no contravenir a lo assi Dispuesto por Derecho so lo pena del, _____

estancias Assi mismo se a entendido que los enco-
de enco- menderos de esas Prouincias y otras per-
menderos sonas tienen tambien sus estancias de
los dichos ganados cerca de los pueblos y sementeras de los indios con que les hazen muchos Daños y para que no los Recuian Dareis orden como se ponga Remedio en esto tratando de ello con mucho cuidado y aduertiendo que las estancias de ganado mayor an de estar apartadas por lo menos tres leguas de los pueblos y milpas: Y la Cauallada de los soldados Dareis orden que este apartada de los Dichos pueblos y milpas a lo menos tres leguas excepto lo muy forçoso que esto se Recogera de noche y se traera trabado de dia de forma que no haga daño y no prohiuireis que los Dichos indios guarden sus sementeras y milpas. y las de los rreli-
giossos antes admitireis las denunciaciones que hizieren en Razon de los Daños que se les ubieren causado haziendoles Justicia breue y ssummariamente, _____

Villa y su
fortifica-
cion.

De Algunas Cartas Vras y Del cabildo de esa Villa de Sancta fee e entendido tratais de poner la dha Villa en defensa en quadro terreno con quatro Cubos mudandola a mejor sitio; y para este efecto hazer yglessia, Cassas R^s. y sustentar las labores me pedis cantidad de hierro. azero açadones. hachas y otros pertrechos y municiones que dezis sera necessario para lo suso dicho. y por que semejante mudança no parece conuiene hazerla sin maduro consejo. Os mando que por aora no hagais nouedad en quanto a mudar la dha Villa — y si todavia Pareciere que conuiene hazerlo me ynformareis Vos el dicho gouernador y el cabildo de ella el padre custodio De los Religiosos de esas prouincias El guardian de ese Conuento y los dos difinidores si los ubiere y sino los dos rreligiossos mas antiguos propoiendo la parte donde la pretendeis mudar que conueniencias y vtilidades Resultan de hazerlo y el orden con que se podra en execucion y si sera cargosso y de molestia a los indios y para mejor ynteligencia de todo me embiareis planta del sitio y lo demas y la misma ynformacion me hareis a cerca de la fortificacion que pretendeis hazer y para lo que toca al Reparado de las casas Reales y iglessia que actualmente ay en essa dha Villa y para la defensa de ella cultura de los campos y labores. fabrica de los edifficios y otras cossas que seran precissamente necessarias. os embio seis quintales de hierro por labrar y dos de azero — Doscientos açadones. Cient hachas. treinta açuelas doze asierras. Veinte escoplos Doze Cepillos y otras tantas junteras. Dos quintales de clauazon Diez quintales de Poluora treinta de plomo — ochenta Rejas y quinientos hozes de segar que hareis distribuir con quenta y Razon — y a la mayor vtilidad que fuere posible y comodidad de la R^l. hazienda, —————

Armas

Dizese tambien que tenis Vras armas pintadas en mantas para ponerlas en las yglessias casso que sea cierto lo escusareis, —————

Parrochia Y en quanto a la yglessia parrochial que
 Y Cura se pretende fundar en esa Dicha Villa
 de Sancta fee. y que se enuie cura Vicario para ella. aviendo
 como ay yglessia y conuento de Sant Fran^{co}. que parece
 bastante para los vezinos que ay actualmente. No a lugar
 por aora hazerse, _____

Decission Y porque al seruicio de dios Nro Señor y
 de su mag^d. a la paz quietud. concordia y buena gouernacion
 de esas Prouincias Couiene la guarda y cumplimiento de
 todo lo en este mandamiento contenido — Os mando lo
 veais Guardeis Cumplais y executeis y hagais guardar cum-
 plir y executar en todo y por todo segun y como en el se
 continene — contra cuyo tenor y forma no vais ni paseis
 ni contiene — contra cuyo tenor y forma no vais ni paseis
 ni consintais ni deis Lugar a que se vaya ni passe en manera
 alguna. Sino que antes se lleue a deuida execucion con
 efecto de manera que en todo aya la Paz. y buena corres-
 pondencia concordia y acertado proceder y gouierno que
 siempre se a deseado en essas Dichas prouincias y de hazer
 lo contrario Proueere de otro mas apretado Remedio qual
 convenga fecho en mexico. a cinco dias del mes de hebrero
 de mill y seiscientos y Veinte y vn años, — El marques de
 guadalcaçar — por mandado del Virrey, ffran^{co}. nuñez
 basurto. _____

Sacado de vno de los Libros de la gouernacion de mi
 cargo y corregido.

Fran^{co}. nuñez basurto

[rubricado]

Lo á cordado. En la Junta de la Nueva mexico en lo
 tocante. al gouierno de aquellas prouincias en la forma que
 aqui se declara.⁴

4. It is possible that the signatures of the three councilors were not on the original which was sent to Eulate, nor indicated in the "book of government"; but in any case this statement at the end should probably have been included above the certifying statement of the secretary.

PARTE OFICIAL DE LA ACCION

DE ARMAS DE TEMASCALITOS

Sria.—

División de Operaciones
sobre Nuevo México.-

General en Jefe.—

Sección de Vanguardia.—

Instrucciones bajo las cuales procederá el Sr. Comandante de Escuadrón D. Antonio Ponce de León en el movimiento militar que debe emprender hoy sobre la fuerza de la población de — D^a. Ana.

Art. 1^o. Se batirá el enemigo hasta derrotarlo ó lograr las ventajas mayores posibles sobre él, siempre que su número no exceda como se ha asegurado de trescientos á cuatrocientos — hombres.

Art. 2^o. Conseguido el triunfo, se tomarán todas las medidas que juzgue V. convenientes, á fin de que, sin pérdida de tiempo, se verifique la introducción de la carabana de Mexicanos y extranjeros de nación amiga de nuestra República.

Art. 3^o. Si los enemigos hubiesen recibido refuerzo de manera que sea, ya superior en número al nuestro, tomará V. sus providencias según sus conocimientos militares para replegarse, en la inteligencia de que la línea de defensa establecida sobre - este campo se conservará en aptitud de proteger la retirada.

Art. 4^o. De todas maneras recomiendo á V. el honor de las armas de la Nación y me prometo de su conocido valor, prudencia y pericia militar, así como también de su amor patrio cuyas - cualidades le adornan, que obrará salvando siempre el honor Nacional. -

Campo de la loma de la presa.-
Diciembre 25 de 1846.-

LUIS VIDAL.

Escopia sacada de la original
Hacienda del Cármen Enero 7 de 1847.-

Es copia Chihuahua, Enero 17 de 1847.-

S. S. de
Santa María.

Division de Operaciones
sobre Nuevo México.-

General en Jefe.-

Fuerza de la Sección de Vanguardia
en marcha sobre el enemigo.-

Ayer salí del punto donde V. está situado, desprendiéndome con la fuerza de más de 500 hombres entre tropa y Guardia nacional y un obus dotado con doce artilleros con objeto de — atacar al enemigo y dar cumplimiento á sus instrucciones:— hoy sobre la marcha yá, tuvo aviso por mis espías que el enemigo se hallaba en el punto de los Temascalitos, al momento y sobre la misma marcha empecé á dar providencias y con una mitad de tropa decaballeria del Norte me puse á la vanguardia de mi fuerza con el fin preciso de observar al enemigo y de hacerme cargo de sus fuerzas, terreno y posicion que guardaba. Visto todo por mí á muy corta distancia hice seguir la marcha á mi fuerza bajo el mismo orden que traia, tomando por la derecha para poder quedar frente á frente de la batalla enemiga que se hallaba situada ya en su terreno y en toda prevención formando cinco alas separadas, tres en una misma linea, dos á retaguardia de estas primeras y una, que parecia ser la reserva con los carros: llegando ya la vanguardia mia al punto que contemplé necesario mandé hacer alto, dar el frente á la izquierda y quedó formada la linea de ataque poniendo en el centro el obús y los sententa y cinco infantes formando dos mitades en tiradores, una ocupaba

la derecha de este obús y la otra la izquierda, la ala derecha de la caballeria y de la batalla le formaban el 2.^o y 3.^o regimiento y tres mitadas del Norte y (*Principe*) y toda la izquierda, el resto de la fuerza de caballeria y Guardia nacional. Arreglado bajo el orden que manifiesto, en presencia del enemigo victorié al Benemérito General Santa Anna y á mi nación y encontrando en toda mi tropa que correspondían con entusiasmo y decision al deseo del combate me hicieron presagiar — una victoria segura de modo que al momento hice marchar de — frente mi batalla de ataque al paso regular, y viendo que toda la columna de caballeria de la izquierda dejaba de moverse, reptí mis órdenes con mis ayudantes para que se moviesen con igualdad, y mandé tocar á degúello; pero observando del momento cierta frialdad en los que momentos ántes me habían hecho esperar un — buen resultado me decidí para alentar su apagado ardor ponerme - delante, yo mismo delante de todos, y en el acto hicieron el primer movimiento igual, menos la izquierda de los Nacionales, y entrando al fin sólo tres mitdas de los presidiales, fué roto el - fuego por estas mitades, la infanteria toda y el obús obrando con tanto acierto que de luego se vieron caer cuatro de la segunda linea enemiga sin otros varios que murieron de este enemigo en el fuego graneado tan bien sostenido por la - infanteria y mitades de la caballeria: en estas circunstancias y comprometiod el mero frente del enemigo ví que los dragones de Veracruz no estaban en línea y si muy corridos á la derecha donde no alcanzaban los fuegos, y que toda el ala izquierda de la caballeria y guardia nacional tampoco tomaban parte en el combate, sino al contrario varios de ellos huían ya. En tales circunstancias quise yo mismo obligar la carga darla y en persona, como en efecto se empezó, pero unas descargas cerradas del enemigo y las infinitas granadas que nos hecharon en los momentos más criticos y precisos de la carga, desordenaron completamente la caballeria que volvio caras con una velocidad increíble dispersándose á distancias muy largas y en todas direcciones,

generalmente la caballeria y con más violencia más de 150 dragones que montaban mulas que al estallido de las granadas huyeron precipitadas: en suma Sr. Comandante de la sección, de una victoria que la creía segura se me cambió en pérdida y dispersión completa de la caballeria quedando reducido el ataque á defensa de los muy brillantes y sostenidos infantes y artilleros que sin cesar un punto repitieron sus — fuegos con más ardor avanzando terreno por más de media hora; y por último obligados por el cansancio y arrojándose el enemigo sobre ellos fueron obligados á retirarse como cada cual — pudo en los momentos más peligrosos y á perder el obús el que quedó clavado por su oficial comandante que lo mandaba. Yo — con solo mis asistentes y el capitán D. Juan Ruíz que era - mi ayudante, permanecí al frente del enemigo hasta que herido de un balazo que recibí en el cuadril izquierdo y sin esperanza ya de reacción ninguna marché en busca de la demás fuerza y encargué al capitán D. Rafael Carbajal del mando de la fuerza toda para poderme retirar yo como herido, reencargandole muy particularmente el que tocara reunión é hiciera una retirada lo más ordenado que fuese posible.

Me retiré en efecto con el sentimiento de que se perdiera el obús y que hubiera de nuestra parte de distintos cuerpos, como 11 muertos y 17 heridos sin los dispersos que dilatarán en reunirse y hasta entonces no es dable saber los más que hayan - perecido de ellos.

Igualmente hago la súplica que como Jefe de la Sección se — sirva hacer una averiguacion con respecto á mi mismo y mi manejo tenido en la desgraciada acción del 22 por lo que toca á mi honor y á la verdad pura y simple del parte que rindo.

Al reproducir á V. mis consideraciones le manifiesto que el enemigo por su parte á pesar de su victoria sufrió una pérdida sino igual á la nuestra quizá mayor.

Dios y Libertad.-

Campo sobre la presa.
Diciembre 26 de 1846.-

ANTONIO PONCE DE LEÓN

Sr. Comandante de la Sección
de Vanguardia, Teniente Coronel
D. Luis Vidal.

Es copia. Chihuahua, Enero 17 de 1847.-

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BATTLE
AT TEMASCALITOS (BRAZITO)

TRANSLATED BY F. M. GALLAHER

Department

Division of Operations
for New Mexico.-

General Commanding
The Advance Guard.-

Instructions under which Squadron Commander Antonio Ponce de León is to proceed in the military movement to be undertaken today against the forces at the town of Doña Ana.

Art. 1. - The enemy shall be engaged until put to flight, or until the greatest possible advantage over it has been achieved, provided its numbers do not exceed, according to assurances, from three hundred to four hundred men.

Art. 2. - Having achieved the victory, such measures shall be taken as you may judge proper, to the end that without loss of time, there may be facilitated the entry of the caravan of Mexicans and foreigners of nationality friendly to our Republic.

Art. 3. - In case the enemy should have received reinforcements to such extent that it may be superior in numbers, you will take precautions, according to your military knowledge, to fall back, with the object of holding the line of defense established at this camp, so as to be able to protect the retreat.

Art. 4. - Above all things, I commend to you the honor of the National forces, and I anticipate from your well known valor, prudence and military skill, as well as your love of country, which qualities adorn you, that you will so act as to always preserve the National honor.

Camp at the hill by the dam.

December 25, 1846.

Luis Vidal.

Copy from the original.

Hacienda del Carmen.

January 7, 1847.

Copy. Chihuahua, January 17, 1847.

Notary Public of
Santa Maria.

Division of Operations
for New Mexico.

General Commanding Forces of
The Detachment of the Vanguard,
sent against the enemy:

Yesterday, I left the place where you are located setting forth with a force of over 500 men, made up of regulars and National Guard; and a howitzer manned by twelve gunners, with the object of attacking the enemy and fulfilling your instructions. Today, when already on the march, I received notice from my scouts, that the enemy was to be found at the point of Temascalitos, and at once, while still on the march, I began to make arrangements, and with a part of the troop of cavalry of the North, I put myself at the head of my force with the intention of observing the enemy closely, and taking note of its forces, the ground and position it occupied. Having seen all at a very short distance, I had my force continue their formation in the same order they had followed, bearing to the right, so as to be able to come face to face with the line of battle of the enemy, who had already taken its position, forming five separate wings, three in one line, two in the rear of these

first, and one which appeared to be the reserve with the wagons. My advance guard now arriving at the point which I considered necessary, I commanded a halt and left face, and the line of attack was formed, placing the howitzer in the center; and the seventy-five infantry forming two sections on the firing line, so that one occupied the right of the howitzer and the other section the left. The right wing of the cavalry and of the line of battle was formed by the 2nd and 3rd regiments, and three sections of the North and the garrison (*principe*) and the entire left by the remainder of the cavalry and the National Guard. Drawn up in the order stated, in the presence of the enemy, I shouted Victory to the glorious General Santa Anna and to my country; and finding that all my troops responded with enthusiasm and decision to the desire for combat, I was led to predict a certain victory, therefore I ordered my line of attack to move forward in regular time; and perceiving that the entire column of cavalry on the left, had ceased to move, I repeated my orders to my adjutants, so that they might move with uniformity; and commanded to sound the charge. However, observing at that moment a certain hesitation among those who a few minutes previous had made me hope for a good result, I decided to quicken their quenched ardor, placing myself in front, I myself in advance of all; and at this action they made the first movement in unison, except the left of the Nationals; and joined at last by only three sections of the garrison troops, the fire was broken by these companies, all the infantry and the howitzer working with such effect that at once four in the enemy's second line were seen to fall, besides various others among the enemy, who died in the hail of fire so well sustained by the infantry and sections of the cavalry: under these circumstances, and the very front of the enemy exposed, I saw that the Vera Cruz dragoons were running at full speed towards the right, where the firing did not reach, and that the whole of the left wing

of the cavalry and National Guard also took no part in the combat, but, on the contrary, some of them were already running away. Under such conditions, I wished to force the charge myself and to lead it in person, as in fact was undertaken; but some close volleys of the enemy and the endless number of hand grenades which they threw at us exactly at the most critical moment of the attack, completely disorganized the cavalry which turned tail with incredible haste, scattering themselves at long distances and in all directions; the cavalry in general, and particularly over 150 dragoons mounted on mules, at the crackling of the grenades fled precipitately. In short, Señor Comandante, the victory which I had considered certain changed into the complete loss and dispersion of the cavalry, the action being reduced to the very brilliant and sustained defense by the infantry and artillery, who without ceasing for a moment, continued their fire with great courage, gaining ground for more than half an hour; and finally overcome by exhaustion, and the enemy dashing upon them, they were forced to retire each one as best he could at the most dangerous moment, and to lose the howitzer, which was left spiked by the officer in charge of it. I with my aides and Captain Juan Ruiz, who was my adjutant, remained at the enemy's front until wounded by a shot which I received in the left side; and without hope of any rally, I proceeded in search of the rest of the force, and ordered Captain Rafael Carbajal to take command, in order that I, being wounded, might withdraw, again commanding him to collect the troops and to make as orderly retreat as might be possible.

I withdrew in fact with regret for the loss of the howitzer, and that there were on our side, from the various corps, some 11 killed and 17 wounded, besides the scattered troops which will be delayed in getting together; and until then it will not be possible to know how many more may have perished.

I also make the request that you, as Commander of the detachment, will order an investigation with respect to me and my conduct in the unfortunate action of the 22nd, as it touches my honor, and the pure and simple truth as to the part I took.

In reporting to you, I wish to state, that the enemy, in spite of his victory, suffered a loss equal to ours - perhaps greater.

God and Liberty.

December 26, 1846

Camp at the Dam.

ANTONIO PONCE DE LEÓN

To the Commander of the Vanguard,

Lieutenant-Colonel Luis Vidal.

(A copy. Chihuahua, Jan. 17, 1847.

Notary Public of Santa Maria)

BY ORDER OF RICHARD CAMPBELL

BY EDWARD D. TITTMAN

According to popular tradition the law west of the Pecos in the days before the coming of the railroads was administered and personified entirely by Judge Bean and his combined saloon and courthouse. As usual popular tradition is very much in error. At least where there were settlements, as in the valley of the Rio Grande, there was considerable law. True it was law somewhat different from our present day conceptions but, nevertheless, it was "according to the statute in such case made and provided" by the legislature of the Territory of New Mexico.¹ In the early fifties of the 19th century the area of the just established and organized territory extended from the west boundary of Texas to the east boundary of California, and from the Mexican Republic to the southern line of Colorado Territory. Neither the northern nor the southern lines were then very certainly established, and especially in the south, prior to the Gadsden purchase, there was much doubt as to the exact location of the boundary line. This line was the southern boundary of the County of Doña Ana which had been cut off in 1852 from the County of Socorro and the Kingdom of Valencia, when the territory had just been organized. And it is the Law in the County of Doña Ana in those early days, as disclosed in remaining records in the Las Cruces Court House, that I am going to tell about in this story.

The law of Doña Ana County in those days was mainly

1. Prior to the County Commissioners Act of 1876 Probate Judges exercised all the powers of the present Board of County Commissioners, in addition to their rather general civil and criminal jurisdiction. E. D. T.

by order of Richard Campbell; sometimes it was by order of Richard Campbell, Probate Judge, but just as often the title was left off, and the law became, on the face of the record, the law by order of Richard Campbell.

And Richard Campbell was some man.

Back of him he had the Act of the Territorial Legislature which conferred upon the Probate Courts the powers of a court of general jurisdiction, such as to grant writs of habeas corpus, to try criminal cases with a jury, up to certain grades of crime, and to hear civil causes. This was necessary because the country was sparsely settled, judicial districts were large and the distances from one county seat to another were great. To travel from Lemitar in Socorro County to Las Cruces was no light matter, what with the murdering Apaches and the journey over the Jornada del Muerto where water was then unknown. It took not less than a week for the trip and the judges were not anxious for the journey. It is on record in the legislative enactments of those days that the legislature found it desirable to address a memorial to the government in Washington asking that one of the district judges be made to stay in the territory and attend to his duties.

The first presiding judge of the Probate Court in Doña Ana County was Richard Campbell. Whence he came the record does not disclose. Judging from his handwriting he was an elderly man at the time, and judging from his style he was a man of some education, though he found some words beyond his power to spell. But he was certainly a man. He ruled the county with a firm hand and he did not stand for any foolishness. When he spoke he spoke and when he ordered he ordered. And he did lots of ordering.

The town of Las Cruces in those days was a somewhat recently established aggregation of adobe houses. Adopting a method still in vogue in some portions of the State the adobe-makers had dug the mud for the earthen bricks from

pits right along the houses they were building. The results, in so far as they affected the use of streets and roads, were evidently displeasing to Richard Campbell, for streets and roads were one of his pet hobbies. For this reason perhaps the first entry on Richard Campbell's new Probate Court Record was as follows:

"Ordered by Richard Campbell, Probate Judge in and for the County of Doña Ana and Territory of New Mexico, that the holes made in the Streets of the Town of Las Cruces for the purpose of making adobes and for other purposes be filled up within thirty days from the issueing of this order with the positive assurance that all those who made such holes and do not fill them up or comply with this order within thirty days from the date hereof will be fined and legal steps taken to compel the payment of such fines.

By order of Richard Campbell, Probate Judge, this the 17th day of September, 1853.

One imagines that the holes were filled up.

On the same day he appointed commissioners to view and lay out a road from the older settlement of Doña Ana to the county seat, and a few days afterwards he took the same steps to secure a road to Fort Fillmore.

In the meantime there appears to have been some dispute about the ownership of lots in the Village of Las Cruces. Richard Campbell did not wait for some one to bring a suit in ejectment but he entered an order designed to settle the question then and there. "All claiming lots in Las Cruces," he wrote, "shall repair to the office of the Clerk and designate the same and a certificate will be issued;" "otherwise," concludes the order, "they will lose their rights to the same."

The lots in the town of Las Cruces were a part of the Doña Ana Bend Grant, and the titles were or should have

been derived from the trustees of the Grant, if it was at all possible to alienate such title, and so the order of Richard Campbell, while undoubtedly made in the best of good faith, did nothing to help the situation except that it gave color of title for a basis to possessory title later on.

Other difficult matters soon pressed on Richard Campbell's sense of duty and official power. A surety on the bond of John Jones, Sheriff of the county, was about to leave and on February 25th, 1854, the Probate Judge — that man's title should rightfully be spelled with capital letters — issued an order requiring Jones to account. It may be that Jones declined to recognize the jurisdiction of Richard Campbell; at least on May 4th of the same year Jones was charged with embezzlement and malfeasance in office and Thomas Chunton was "appointed" acting sheriff, but the record does not show who did the appointing; probably it was by order of Richard Campbell.

In between the larger affairs of his government Richard Campbell did not neglect the smaller matters. Especially did he not forget to look after the roads. He appointed road overseers to keep the roads in good repair and to call out "any time" as many men as needed for that purpose. When their efforts were unsatisfactory or at least left room for improvement, Richard Campbell took the matter in his own hands, and on August 2d, 1855, he ordered all male inhabitants over eighteen year of age, except those exempt by law, to assemble on August 11th with hoes and spades and axes to take away the mesquite roots and leveling Main Street and working on the road. Evidently the previous orders about filling up the holes had not quite resulted in making Main Street a desirable thoroughfare.

But there were other things to do. Citizens petitioned for the appointment of alcaldes and justices of the peace — according to the language they spoke — and Richard Campbell either appointed them or ordered elections to be held to fill such offices. Many minor cases of misde-

meanors had to be tried, taxes had to be levied, jury panels had to be drawn.

Taxes especially seem to have been bothersome and hard to collect. The revenues were perhaps not large enough. At any rate on an undated day in June, 1854, it was "commanded by Richard Campbell" that a fifty cent license be collected on each billiard table. In January, 1855, "small games" were ordered taxed \$1.50 for each 24 hours during the fair at Las Cruces. On January 14th, 1854, he made the following entry regarding taxation:

"Ordered by Richard Campbell that there be a County Tax collected by the Collector of the County of Doña Ana for to defray the expenses of said county which tax shall not exceed the territorial tax on all property and licenses made taxable for territorial purposes one hundred per cent."

Richard Campbell was always equal to an emergency. When two men were arrested for larceny and it turned out that the crime had been committed in the doubtful zone of Mesilla the probate judge turned them loose on a writ of habeas corpus. When Eucebio Sanchez, by his agent Pedro Chavez, complained on May 19th, 1855, that he was being detained of his liberty by an order of Cristobal Ascarate, J. P., for a debt, Richard Campbell promptly granted a writ of habeas corpus and turned the poor debtor loose; "restored him to his liberty" says the record. It was well that the county had for judge a man whose spirit was imbued with Anglo-Saxon ideas of freedom, even though grim necessity forced him to be an autocrat. He certainly went beyond his jurisdiction when on November 3d, 1854, one Jose Aris charged Theodor Green and Peter Miller with the murder of Juan "Carivjal." The murder was alleged to have been committed "near the Cotton Wood between Las Cruces and Franklin." A jury of six men was sworn: Lewis Flotte, John S. Draper, Andon Scarff, H. J. Cuniffe, C. W. Robinson and P. P. Lully, and this

jury found the defendants not guilty. What the reasons were that prompted Richard Campbell to assume jurisdiction when he should have left the matter to the District Court the record does not show. Very likely the circumstances were such that the good common sense of Campbell thought it would serve not only the ends of justice but likely the sentiment of the community if he would do as he did do.

Discretion in such matters was an outstanding characteristic of Richard Campbell. When Jose Maria Flores, justice of the peace of Doña Ana Precinct was charged with having detained monies of the Territory, Campbell dismissed the charges "because of his ignorance of the laws of the Territory and his pleading innocence." Evidently Campbell did not adhere too strictly to the maxim that ignorance of the laws excuses no man. In view of the fact that the people had only just come under the new system of law and government this was eminently just. Rosalio Trujillo, constable of the same precinct, did not get off quite so easily on charges of neglect of duty. The judge's entry as of January 27th, 1855, reads:

"Defendant dismissed upon the charges against him by paying costs of suit, there being no evidence of a serious nature against him."

The costs amounted to \$4.00 and the court evidently thought that the payment of this, at that time substantial, sum, would cause the defendant to attend to his duties thereafter.

When, on July 25th, 1854, Domingo Candelaria was found guilty of larceny the court must have considered many extenuating circumstances, for the defendant was only sentenced to the payment of the costs and to give a \$100 bond for good behaviour and conduct for six months.

In civil matters Campbell displayed an equal desire

to have justice done regardless. After the Gadsden purchase had brought the country across the river from Las Cruces into the union some trouble arose over the public funds of the village of Mesilla which was then on the west side of the Rio Grande and the northernmost settlement in the Republic of Mexico. Campbell treated the dispute with the following order; which was duly entered on the record on December 6th, 1854:

“Having good reason to believe that between five hundred and one thousand dollars has been unlawfully taken from the town of Masilla since the treaty of December 30, 1853, which belongs to the town of Masilla and to one else I have constituted and appointed and by these presents do constitute and appoint J. S. Watts as attorney to reclaim said money and redeliver it to said town of Masilla to which town it *personly* belongs.

Given under my hand and seal of office this 6th day of December, 1854.”

What was the result of this appointment does not appear from the records. But on February 3d, 1855, the legislature passed an act which probably had reference to the same matter, and which provided that “any or all the money belonging to the former canton or town of Mesilla that is or has not been appropriated by law to this territory, or not belonging to any person or persons be and the same is hereby appropriated to the County of Doña Ana for the purpose of building or purchasing county property.” As the county seat was later moved to Mesilla it may be that this money of Mesilla was used to buy the buildings for court house and jail in Mesilla. J. S. Watts is probably the John S. Watts who later became Chief Justice of the Territory and who lived in the southern part of the territory for a time and was well known as far south as Franklin.

The election of 1855 ended the career of Richard Campbell as probate judge but not until he had passed on an election contest brought by other officers of the county. The election took place early in September, 1855, and Samuel G. Bean, sheriff of the county, moved to reject the election at Santa Barbara and Los Amoles precincts, while constable W. C. Jones opposed the returns from La Mesilla. According to the record there were in the ballot box at Mesilla 195 ballots which were neither numbered nor entered on the poll books of which there was only one; "which appearing to be all on one side gives it greatly the appearance of fraud," wrote the court. As the certificates were also not in form the court declared the election at Mesilla void. At Santa Barbara the "tickets" were said not to have been placed in the ballot box at all, the number of votes cast did not conform with the number shown in the poll-books and the certificates were not signed. So Santa Barbara precinct also went out. At Los Amoles the votes were registered in the poll book but the names of the candidates for whom the votes had been cast were omitted so that it was impossible to ascertain for whom the votes were cast. This disposed of Los Amoles.

What effect this had on the results of the balloting is not shown by the record. But on September 24th following the election appears the last entry signed by order of Richard Campbell. And on that day also appears the last entry in the English language for many years. Beginning with the administration of Pablo Melendres the records were kept in the "Castilian" language.

Where Richard Campbell came from I do not know. Twitchell, at p. 143 Vol. I of his *Leading Facts*, quotes a recital by Richard Campbell of Santa Fé describing a journey to California in 1827. This is probably the same Richard Campbell. The legislature of 1855 on January 30th of that year passed a bill for the relief of Richard Campbell, former sheriff of the County of Doña Ana to repay

him \$171.75 for money expended in catching George Goodnew, a murderer. So it seems that Campbell was sheriff before he was Probate Judge. He was probably a good sheriff for he had plenty of courage. One of his orders as Probate Judge, written in the record in his own handwriting called on the citizens to gather and discuss the advisability of forming an armed patrol to resist the Indians. The order read:

“Ordered, that all ablebodied men of Las Cruces capable of bearing arms be notified to be and appear in front of the office of the Probate Clerk at 5 o'clock of the evening of the 3d of July inst. with such arms and accoutrements as they may have in their possession for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of forming an armed patrol for the protection against indian depredations.”

Richard Campbell died in February, 1860. On the seventh of that month John Peter Deus was appointed administrator. In the application for such appointment it is recited that the late judge left as heirs Richard Campbell, Gertrude Campbell and another whose first name was unknown, and all of whom resided in Santa Fé. If there are any descendants living this short recital of some of the facts in the life of their ancestor may be of interest to them. Certain it is that neither they nor the County where he held office need be ashamed of his record.

ES-KIM-IN-ZIN

BY JOHN P. CLUM

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ES-KIM-IN-ZIN and Geronimo were both full-blooded Apaches. Both were dominant figures among their respective followers — but in character the one was the antithesis of the other. Es-kim-in-zin was the first of the Apache chiefs brought to my official attention at the time of my appointment as agent for his tribe, and fate decreed that he should be the first Apache with whom I came in contact — face to face. This meeting occurred in the early part of August, 1874, at (New) Camp Grant, Arizona, where that intelligent, high-spirited, illfated Indian was then confined as a prisoner of war - *in chains*.

It is the irony of fate that Geronimo, an utterly undeserving character, should have acquired a notoriety that made his name familiar, not only nationally, but, to a limited extent, internationally — while Es-kim-in-zin, who was worthy of much, attained only sacrifice and oblivion. Geronimo reveled in crime under a system of perpetual pardoning. Es-kim-in-zin endeavored and suffered under a scourge of persistent penalties.

Es-kim-in-zin was the chief of the Pinal and Arivaipa Apaches who lived in the valley of the Gila and who roamed northward over the Pinal range and southward to the Arivaipa canyon. His name appears in official reports as far back as 1871. The incident which gave him this initial official recognition was his arrival at Old Camp Grant to entreat those in authority to allow him and his people to live at peace with the white race, and in

this limited review of his life it is intended to show that more than half a century ago, the Apaches possessed those inherent qualities which rendered them capable of a steady development along the lines of orderly living and substantial progress, and which, within a comparatively few years, would have made them self-supporting and self-respecting citizens — if they had been given a fair chance under just, intelligent and sympathetic direction.

A careful retrospect indicates that for a decade or more prior to 1871 a condition of open warfare existed between the pioneers and the Apaches, and that numbers were killed on both sides. The respective aggressors in these combats always pleaded justification for their acts of violence because of asserted previous wrongs inflicted by the enemy. Harrowing details of some of these conflicts have been recorded which leave the reader in doubt as to who was the most blood-thirsty and savage — the redskin or the pale-face.

Perhaps the Board of Indian Commissioners appointed by President Grant were in possession of the most reliable information available at that time as to the actual conditions then existing among the Apaches and, therefore, I have deemed it worth while to quote the following paragraphs from their annual report dated Washington, D. C., December 12, 1871:

“The only other Indians who have caused any serious trouble are the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona.

“In our last two annual reports we called attention to the situation of this tribe, their eager desire for peace, their starving condition, and the opinion of the Indian agents and Army officers that, with means to feed and clothe them, they could be kept at peace. Unable to obtain an appropriation from Congress for this purpose, the Indian Department was powerless, and the Apaches were left to obtain food and raiment as best they could — usually by stealing from the settlers or travelers on the high-

way. As many of their valleys, where they previously cultivated corn, were occupied by settlers, and their mountains over-run by gold prospectors, who hunted their game, and no attempt had ever been made by the Government, either by treaty or conference, to consider their rights or necessities, this conduct of the Apaches ought not to surprise us.

“From the time of the Gadsden purchase, when we came into possession of their country, until about ten years ago, the Apaches were the friends of the Americans. Much of the time since then, the attempt to exterminate them has been carried on, at a cost of from three to four millions of dollars per annum, with no appreciable progress being made in accomplishing their extermination.”

If this statement of the Board of Indian Commissioners is accepted it will appear that during the year of 1871 the United States government was engaged in the glorious work of exterminating the Apaches, and that “from three to four millions of dollars” were expended in this asserted deadly warfare, in which, however, “no appreciable progress was being made in accomplishing their extermination.”

We have now reached a period wherein the record of passing events is much more definite and dependable. The killing of at least 118 Apaches — old men, women and children — at Old Camp Grant, Arizona, on April 30, 1871, was a sickening affair; and it is here that Es-kim-in-zin makes his dramatic entry into our story. This young Apache chief came into that frontier military post in February, 1871 — at a time when our government was still expending millions of dollars for the extermination of his tribe — and told the commanding officer that he wanted to make arrangements for a permanent peace between his people and the white men.

In this worthy ambition Es-kim-in-zin was heartily encouraged by the commanding officer, who was First Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman, Third United States Cav-

alry. While Lieutenant Whitman was corresponding with his superior officers relative to this important matter the Indians continued to gather at the post until more than five hundred were in Es-kim-in-zin's camp. Lieutenant Whitman designated a camping place for those Indians a short distance up the Arivaipa Canyon where, he told them, they were under the protection of the United States troops and might sleep in their wicki-ups with as perfect security as could the officers of the garrison within their quarters.

Thus, for a little more than two months, the treaty negotiations progressed in a most satisfactory manner. The Indians were orderly and obedient and seemed very happy at the prospect of living at peace, and the officers were greatly pleased with their talk and behavior. Little did anyone about Old Camp Grant dream of the fearful tragedy that was impending.

The citizens of Tucson had no love for the Apaches and when it was known that several hundred of these Indians had gathered at Old Camp Grant, a party numbering about 150, composed of Papago Indians, Mexicans and half a dozen Americans, was organized in that city for the purpose of attacking Es-kim-in-zin's camp in the Arivaipa Canyon. This attack occurred on April 30th. The utmost secrecy was preserved. The attack was made at daybreak while the unsuspecting Apaches were yet asleep, and for half an hour the slaughter raged. Both guns and clubs were used by the Papagos and Mexicans, and they viciously killed all they met or could overtake.

Just how many Indians were killed is uncertain. One statement places the number at 118. Miles L. Wood went through the Apache camp after the massacre and in his statement, published by Colonel McClintock, he says, "I do not know how many were killed."

This lamentable affair was a brutal slaughter in spite of cruel murders by the Apaches which are alleged to have inspired it. Fully one-fourth of the total number of In-

dians camped in the Arivaipa Canyon on that "bright morning of April 30, 1871," were killed, and the sickening array of mutilated dead included Es-kim-in-zin's entire family of eight, with the exception of a daughter about two and one-half years old, whom the young chief caught up in his arms and bore away as he fled from his frenzied foes. Not content with the wholesale slaughter accomplished, the Mexicans and Papagos seized and carried away twenty-seven Apache children.

Publication of the details of the "Camp Grant Massacre" created a sensation in the east, where sympathy was quite unanimously with the Apaches. In Arizona it was alleged that this sentiment prevailed among the people of the east because they did not know the true character and history of the Apaches.

But it must be admitted that the officers stationed at Old Camp Grant during 1871 were as well acquainted with the Apaches as were any other residents of the territory at that time, and in addition to this they had the advantage of their personal contact with and observation of about five hundred of these Indians during the period while peace negotiations were in progress.

Lieutenant Whitman was the first man within my knowledge fully to comprehend and honestly to sympathize with the Apaches. He had faith in their expressed desire to live at peace, and he was earnest in his efforts to aid them in every way possible. He preceded me a little more than three years, and his report of this massacre is, in my judgment, of great value, not only for the impressive details which he has recorded, but because his observations and experiences led him to conclusions quite identical with my own as to the great possibilities in the matter of the orderly development and material progress of these Indians under fair and sympathetic management.

As soon as Lieutenant Whitman learned of the massacre he equipped a detail of his troops with shovels and picks

and went with them to the scene of the slaughter and, in an orderly manner, began to bury the dead. When this action on the part of the local military force was observed by the terrified and grief-stricken survivors, who were watching from adjacent cliffs, they felt assured that Lieutenant Whitman had no part in the brutal murders which had been so ruthlessly enacted that morning. Thereupon a number of the Indians returned to their former camp. These gathered about Lieutenant Whitman and expressed their confidence in him — and their great sorrow at the loss of their families and friends. Lieutenant Whitman sought to console the Indians, not only by words of sympathy, but by every act of kindness within his power. He also endeavored to further re-establish their confidence and to allay their fears by assuring them that every possible precaution would be taken against any future attack.

Thus the recorded story of the life of Es-kim-in-zin had its inception in misfortune and tragedy — and the kindly fates persistently followed him to the end. His ardent desire for peace was subjected to the acid test on that “bright morning of April 30, 1871,” — and he was not found wanting, for as soon as he had recovered from the shock of the awful horrors of the massacre and its consequent grief, he returned to the post and reiterated his desire for peace and his confidence in Lieutenant Whitman.

But the “unkindly fates” were still diligently plotting against this young Apache chief. This time the tragedy was to be precipitated in the form of a “very unfortunate blunder” which would be exceedingly difficult for the untutored Indian to *understand*. This incident is recorded briefly in the “Fourth Letter” submitted by Special Indian Peace Commissioner Vincent Colyer, and which was dated at Camp Grant, A. T., Sept. 18, 1871. Mr. Colyer says:

“The first Indian chief who came into this post last .

spring and asked to be allowed to live at peace was Es-kim-in-zin. He was the leader of his people and, up to the time of the massacre, was as peaceable and contented as a man could be. HE HAD TWO WIVES, FIVE CHILDREN AND ABOUT FIFTY OF HIS PEOPLE (RELATIVES) KILLED IN THE MASSACRE, and this seems to have partially crazed him.

"He came in after the attack and, assisting in the burial of his family, seemed reconciled. But, BY A VERY UNFORTUNATE BLUNDER, some troops from the White Mountains who came down the Arivaipa Valley nearly a month after the massacre, getting frightened at unexpectedly coming upon some of the Indians who had peaceably returned, opened fire upon them. IT WAS ES-KIM-IN-ZIN AND HIS FAMILY.

"At this he became enraged, and, bidding Lieutenant Whitman a formal goobye, fled with his people to the mountains, and, it is said, killed a white man on his way."

"I consider the massacre of Es-kim-in-zin's family and people at Camp Grant, an inauguration of a condition of war between the whites and the Apaches, and Es-kim-in-zin's act in killing the white man — assuming that he did it — an incident in that war."

On the same date the above letter was written, September 18, 1871, Mr. Colyer, a member of President Grant's "Indian Peace Commission," held a conference with the Apaches at Old Camp Grant at which Es-kim-in-zin made his first recorded speech. He told how he had come to the post pleading for peace; how Lieutenant Whitman had given them a place to camp, and how "the people from Tucson and the Papagos" had attacked his camp and killed many of his family and relatives and friends; how he had returned to the post after the massacre and continued to live there until his camp was again attacked, this time "by a squad of military men," and, although none of his people was killed, it made him mad, and he went on the war-path. Now he felt that he did wrong, but he was grieved and angry and could not help it. He pleaded for the return of the twenty-seven Apache children who had

been stolen by the Mexicans and Papagos at the time of the massacre.

In the name of President Grant, Mr. Colyer promised that these children should be returned. The following year (1872) Mr. Colyer's promise was made good by General Howard, also a special commissioner in the administration of President Grant's peace policy. The conference was held the latter part of May at Old Camp Grant, where a large number of Apaches, Pimas and Papagos, together with a goodly company of prominent officials and citizens had congregated by appointment to meet General Howard. It was at this conference that General Howard decided that the Apache children who had been carried away as captives at the massacre a little more than a year previous, and who had been brought to this conference, should be left with their Indian relatives. General Howard says that when this decision was made "the Indians of the several tribes embraced each other, Papago and Apache, Pima and Tonto — presenting a most unusual scene of rejoicing."

At this time General Howard became very much interested in Es-kim-in-zin, and when the general returned to Washington a month later he took with him Chief Santo, Es-kim-in-zin's father-in-law. Two years later when I left Washington to assume my duties as agent in charge of the Apaches at San Carlos, General Howard gave me autograph letters of introduction to both Es-kim-in-zin and Santo. I exhibited these letters to the chiefs, explaining their contents and meaning, and both were deeply impressed with this remembrance on the part of General Howard, and with his assurance that I had come to live among them as his friend and theirs.

I very much regret that somewhere in the swift current of kaleidoscopic changes that has held its devious course through half a century the letter to Es-kim-in-zin has been lost. But I still have the message to old Santo, which is similar in sentiment to the one addressed to Es-

Washington D.C.
March 28th 1874

Dear Santo

I hope Mrs
will find you well I am
not permitted to go & see you -
but my friend goes - Mr G. P. Blum
He will tell you about me.

The friends of the Indians are
still working & praying and
doing all they can.

I was deeply grieved at the
decide of Parliament Albany.

Everybody must stand by
Mr Blum. I hope to see you here.

If not be sure to barn the way
& meet me in Heaven. Yr friend
O.O. Howard

PHOTOGRAPH OF AUTOGRAPH LETTER

Written in my presence by General O. O. Howard to sub chief
Santo of the Arivaipa Apaches. Santo was
father-in law of Es-kim-in zin.

kim-in-zin, and I deem it worth while to introduce here a fac-simile of that letter as an indication of General Howard's deep sympathy with these Apaches and his profound interest in their general welfare and progress.

During this visit in May, 1872, while General Howard was at Old Camp Grant (on the Rio San Pedro) he promised Es-kim-in-zin and his band of Arivaipa Apaches that they should be removed to the Gila valley where the Rio San Carlos flows into the Gila from the north, and that an agency should be established for them at that point. This removal was effected in February, 1873.

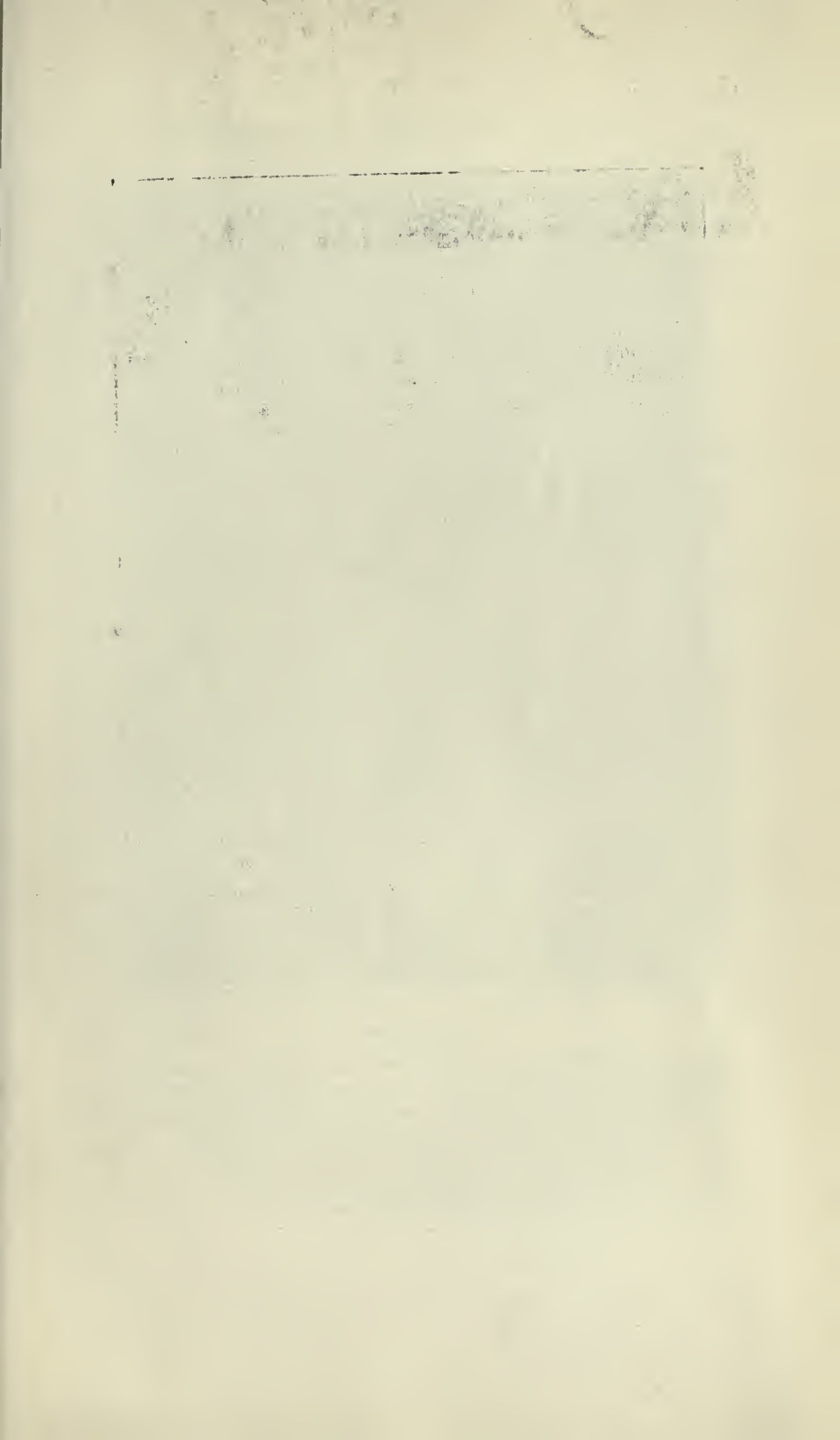
Agent Jacobs, who was in charge of these Indians prior to their removal to San Carlos, retired and was followed by Agent Larrabee. The latter's stay at San Carlos was very brief, and on June 1, 1873, he surrendered the agency to Major W. H. Brown of the 5th cavalry. Major Brown continued in charge until December 6, 1873, when he was succeeded by Special Agent James E. Roberts. But as Agent Roberts' headquarters were at the Camp Apache Agency, about sixty miles to the north, he very soon designated Dr. J. B. White, an army surgeon, as acting agent at San Carlos.

This record indicates the frequent changing of agents and the persistent alternation of civil and military rule to which these Indians had been subjected for a year and a half prior to my arrival at San Carlos. The frequent changing of agent was a *habit* with the Indian Bureau which constituted one of its chief weaknesses — particularly in the management of what were then termed "wild Indians." It is obvious that with five separate agents or acting agents, within a period of eighteen months, and each agent having a different "policy" — or, more likely, no policy at all — the results could only tend to confuse, harass and demoralize these simple people. Defiant renegades had been allowed

to go unpunished, insubordination had not been properly checked, and the Indians had been unhindered in the making and drinking of "tu-le-pah," or "tiswin." Instead of a firm, sympathetic management, there was an utter lack of proper direction and discipline, and it is not surprising that these baneful conditions speedily led to an "outbreak." And in this outbreak the many who were innocent suffered with the guilty. This is but a single instance wherein the mass of the Apaches paid the penalty which should have been assessed against those who were guilty of their mismanagement, — plus a few desperate outlaws.

A tiswin-crazed party, incited and led by some half-dozen outlaws, attacked a flour train near the agency on the night of January 31, 1874, killed two teamsters, and in the excitement of the hour, succeeded in stampeding all of the Indians then at the agency to the adjacent mountains. On February third a party of thirty or forty San Carlos Apaches, under the leadership of the desperate renegade Pedro, attacked some settlers at Old Camp Grant and killed two men, one woman and two children. About a month later another man was reported killed near Florence. A short time prior to the depredations noted above Lieutenant Almy had been killed by a renegade at the agency.

Troops were forthwith sent in pursuit of the stampeding Indians with orders to "take no prisoners." But it should be remembered that this "outbreak" was caused by the rash acts of a few renegades, ably assisted by the effects of the "tiswin" which the Indians had been allowed to imbibe without limitation or hindrance. After the killing of the teamsters all the other Indians feared an immediate attack by the troops stationed at the agency, — hence they sought temporary safety in flight. But they were not equipped to fight, nor to maintain themselves for an extended period in the mountains. Very soon a majority of the Indians realized that the stampede had been an ill-advised and most unfortunate step for them to take.





CASADORA

Was a sub Chief of the Arivaipa Apaches. It was he who insisted upon the surrender of his band to Capt. Hamilton when pursued following the "outbreak" of January 31, 1874, although he knew Capt. Hamilton had orders to kill all Apaches on sight. Casadora and his wife accompanied Agent Clum to Washington, D. C., in 1876, where this photograph was taken

Soon after my arrival at San Carlos I listened to the pathetic details of a most dramatic incident in connection with this "outbreak." As these details were authentic and illustrate the unhappy situation in which these Indians found themselves, I will record them briefly here.

The final edict to all troops sent in pursuit of the stampeding Indians was to "take no prisoners," which, of course, was only a mild form of ordering that all of these Indians must be *killed on sight*. A troop of cavalry under the command of Capt. John M. Hamilton was following the trail of the sub-chief Casadora and his band. One evening an Apache squaw approached a sentry at Captain Hamilton's camp asked permission to speak with the captain. When brought before Captain Hamilton she told him that the Indians he was following were only a short distance away and wished to surrender. Captain Hamilton ordered the squaw to return at once to her camp and to tell her chief that all of the troops were under stern orders to take no prisoners; that none of his band would be allowed to surrender, and that this campaign meant the extermination of the San Carlos Apaches. And so, with a sad heart, the old Indian squaw was sent away into the night to bear this grim message to her distressed and helpless people.

The following morning, just as the day was breaking, the sentries guarding Captain Hamilton's camp announced the approach of a large band of Indians — men, women and children, with hands upraised and begging for permission to see the captain. At once Captain Hamilton went to meet the Indians outside of his picket line. There he found Casadora and his entire band.

Addressing Captain Hamilton, Casadora said: "We did not want to leave the agency, but two white men had been killed by bad Indians and all were excited. We feared we would be attacked by the soldiers and so we ran away. This was a wrong thing to do. We cannot fight. We have neither arms nor ammunition. We have no food. All of

my people are suffering from hunger. We have no moc-casins, and you can see the blood along the trail because the rocks have cut our feet. We have been afraid all of the time since we left the agency and we have been running away from you and your soldiers. We could not go much further. In one or two days more you would be sure to overtake us and then we would all be killed. We know you have orders to kill us, and we know a captain of soldiers must obey his orders, but we are very tired and hungry and our feet are very sore. We know we would all be killed very soon and we did not want to suffer any longer, so we have come to your camp to die by the bullets from the rifles of your soldiers. That will end all our troubles and suffering in a very few moments."

Casadora's pathetic story was an overwhelming appeal to Captain Hamilton's humanity — and Casadora won. The captain declared he would rather lose his commission in the army than to slaughter these Indians in cold blood.

And thus it happened that Casadora and his band returned to the agency on February 18, 1874, or within a month from the date of the "outbreak." The order to "take no prisoners" was speedily modified and the remaining bands were allowed to return to San Carlos within a comparatively short time.

Note: On page 295 of the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1874 will be found a statement by Acting Agent J. B. White in which he records the "sterling kindness of heart shown by some of the officers" who followed the trail of the stampeding Indians, and he refers "more particularly to the surrender of one entire band to Captain John M. Hamilton."

While these stirring events which followed the outbreak of January 31st were transpiring in Arizona I was in Washington debating with myself as to whether I would undertake the decidedly uninviting task of managing the

Apaches on the San Carlos reservation. Since the fall of 1871 I had been a resident of New Mexico, and the offer of the position as agent for the Apaches at San Carlos came to me at Santa Fe late in 1873. In January, 1874, I went to Washington with the intention of accepting the proffered appointment. Following my arrival at the national capital I had several conferences with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and on one of these occasions the commissioner introduced me to Hon. R. C. McCormack, who was then the Delegate to Congress from Arizona. Mr. McCormack greeted me most cordially and said: "Mr. Elkins (Delegate from New Mexico) has been telling me about you, Mr. Clum, and I am pleased to know you contemplate going to Arizona — but why do you want to go to San Carlos? You will find nothing there but Indians and trouble. There are no buildings; you will be two hundred miles from the nearest town (Tucson), and you will have to fight the military, the citizens and the Indians. By this I mean that the military are opposed to the civil administration of 'wild' Indians, and particularly of the Apaches, and, therefore, will be opposed to you. There is a general sentiment of hostility among the citizens toward the Apaches, and that sentiment will be extended to a considerable degree to you. And as for the Indians — well, the hand of the Apache appears to be against the hand of every other race. We'll be very glad to have you come to Arizona — BUT WHY GO TO SAN CARLOS?"

Not a very cheerful or encouraging statement concerning my prospective job to be expressed by the territorial delegate in the presence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs — and yet it was a frank presentation of what Mr. Cormack then believed to be the unembellished truth. However, Commissioner Smith seemed very desirous that I should undertake the task. The salary was \$1,500 per annum and traveling expenses; the bond \$10,000; the responsibilities great; the location remote and the hazards apparent.

Now, that I realized more fully the very grave responsibilities of the position and the seemingly innumerable difficulties and obstacles to be overcome, I found the question of acceptance an exceedingly trying one to decide. In the midst of many perplexing reports and much discouraging comment and advice I was swayed to and fro, until — like Caesar — I had twice declined the job, and then — again like that valiant old Roman — on the third turn of the wheel of opportunity I ACCEPTED THE POSITION.

In the final analysis of the situation I persuaded myself to believe that if I failed I would do no worse than those who had gone before me, but if I should have the good fortune to succeed I would be quite in a class by myself and a large and important field of usefulness would be opened before me. Having decided in the affirmative my appointment was made on February 27, 1874.

After some delay in the matter of filing a bond, my commission was signed by President Grant and, thus equipped, I turned my back on the national capital and started on my long trek into the wilds of the woolly west at the tender age of 22 years and 6 months. Only one railway was then available to the Pacific coast, hence I was spared the perplexity of the modern tourist as to which route to follow in the wake of the setting sun. From San Francisco I had the choice of traveling by stage or steamer to San Diego. I elected to sail the ocean blue. The stage journey from San Diego to Tucson measured about 500 miles and required five days (and nights) of continuous travel — if the traveler was in haste. The old southern overland stage route crossed the Colorado desert through the southern part of what is now Imperial county, and as I left San Diego on the third day of July I enjoyed the full benefits of those summer temperatures for which that section of California is famous.

A stop of a couple of days at Yuma enabled me to see some of the Yuma Indians and acquaint myself somewhat

with their characteristics and condition. Then I went by steamboat up the Colorado river (an experience not available to present day tourists) to the Mojave Indian reservation where the genial Dr. John A. Tonner was agent. En route again by stage from Yuma I halted at Sacaton where I found the Pimas and Maricopas with my good friend, Major J. H. Stout, in charge, and while at Tucson I conferred with the agent for the Papago Indians and went with him to visit some of their villages. I was endeavoring to get onto my job, and these visits to the several reservations in Arizona, together with what I had seen of Indians and Indian agents during my three years' residence in New Mexico, afforded me excellent opportunities to make observations and obtain information that proved of the greatest value to me in my initial work at San Carlos.

At Tucson I engaged a private conveyance to transport me over the final lap of my long journey. The distance to San Carlos by the wagon road was about 200 miles. We followed the old overland stage road out of Tucson via Cienega and San Pedro to Point-of-Mountain, and thence across the Sulphur Springs valley to (New) Camp Grant where I found several Apache prisoners under a military guard at work making adobes, and among these was Eskim-in-zin — wearing skackles which were riveted to his ankles.

Little did I dream at that time that a sincere and sympathetic friendship was destined to develop between this shackled Apache chief and myself, and that half a century later I would be earnestly endeavoring in this modest fashion to reward his loyalty and accord to his memory that simple justice which was denied him during his lifetime, by assuming the role of his biographer.

In reply to my inquiry as to the charges against Eskim-in-zin, the commanding officer of the post said: "Major Randall does not like him." I ventured to suggest that it seemed to me very harsh treatment to hold a man a prisoner

in chains at hard labor simply because someone in authority did not like him. The commanding officer concurred in my judgment of the case and admitted that no specific charges had been filed against this young Arivaipa chief. Permission to interview the Indian was cordially granted.

Fortunately there was a visitor at the post in the person of Mr. George H. Stevens, who spoke the Apache language fairly well. Having explained my official position to Es-kim-in-zin, I asked why he had been arrested? He replied: "I do not know unless some lies were told about me." At the conclusion of the interview I suggested that I might be able to secure his release, and, if successful, that I hoped he would do all he could to assist me in my efforts to improve the condition of the Indians at San Carlos. It was evident that he felt keenly the humiliation of the situation in which I found him, and he said that because of his disgrace as a prisoner in chains he feared his influence with his own people had been destroyed. But he assured me that if I obtained his release he would gladly do his utmost for the best interests of the San Carlos Apaches — as he always had done. How faithfully he kept this promise will appear as this story proceeds.

My arrival at San Carlos about noon on August 8, 1874, was not unexpected, and the Portuguese cook had prepared a mid-day meal that made a decided hit with our party, which consisted of Mr. M. A. Sweeney, who served as chief clerk during my administration, the driver and myself. The food was good and the mountain vistas inspiring, but the camp, or agency, was of the crudest and most primitive character. The temporary structures were few and their area limited. The walls consisted of rough poles set upright in the ground and chinked in with mud. Across the top of these walls were rough poles covered with brush and mud, which served as a roof. It is admitted that as a protection against the blistering rays of an Arizona August sun this sort of a roof is unexcelled,

but when the heavens weep it is truly an aggravation, for instead of *shedding*, it merely *soils* the otherwise perfectly wholesome rain-water. Here and there were small openings in the walls which served as paneless windows, while the doors were of canvas tacked on frames made of thin poles, with hinges of rope or strips of leather cut from the leg of some discarded boot. The furnishings were in perfect harmony with the architecture, having been constructed for the most part out of material salvaged from old packing boxes. The only substantial feature in this grotesque establishment was the flooring. This was both economical and enduring — being nothing other than the pebbly and more or less uneven surface of the naked bosom of good old Mother Earth.

However, these accommodations — or lack of accommodations — had not the slightest depressing effect upon my spirits. Had not Mr. McCormack warned me in this matter? And, moreover, anyone voluntarily undertaking the job of managing the Apaches at that time was, most assuredly, adventuring upon a strenuous life in which “roughing-it” was merely incidental. I had arrived at San Carlos, and the only question of vital interest to me was as to whether my administration would record failure or success? I knew that I could provide myself with comfortable quarters, but the experiences of my predecessors were by no means reassuring as to what I might be able to accomplish in my dealings with the Indians.

When the Arizona summer evening had brought its delicious coolness to the air I sat under the bright stars with some of the agency employes smoking and spinning yarns in the friendly fashion of the frontier. It was not necessary for my newly acquired companions to go far afield for details of desperate deeds. There was abundant fresh and familiar local material, and there was something startling and uncanny in the proximity of various scenes of recent bloodshed and death and the intimate personal references to several of the victims; “Right there on the

mesa Johnny Logan, one of our employes, was killed." "Lieutenant Almy met his death right here, just this side of the Indian trader's store." "It's about half-a-mile, over there across the Gila where the two teamsters were shot to death." Thus my cheerful entertainers rambled on glibly with their tragic recitals and gruesome reminiscences — not forgetting to include some of the thrilling experiences of my immediate predecessor. He had seen Lieutenant Almy killed, and had, himself, barely escaped being run through with an Apache lance, and had departed hastily for the more genteel and orderly scenes of his old home town in the east.

These grim tales of blood and death did not present a very alluring outlook for my new job, but, happily, that healthy fatigue which travel brings to the young and robust expressed itself in an irresistible desire for sleep, which refused to be perturbed — and thus I was enabled to pass my first night at San Carlos in most restful and refreshing slumber.

The military camp at San Carlos was located about 200 yards from the agency and two companies of cavalry were then stationed there. The "barracks" consisted of army tents which were protected from the direct rays of the sun by an elaborate canopy of brush supported by a frame work of poles.

About noon on August 9th, the day following my arrival, a stir of keen excitement at the military camp attracted everyone in the vicinity. A scouting party of Indians had just arrived and, opening a sack, they exposed the ghastly head of Chappo, the renegade. It was a shocking and sickening sight, and, involuntarily, I recalled Mr. McCormack's query; "Why go to San Carlos?"

In the recent campaign against these Indians General Crook had rescinded the order to "take no prisoners," but he had insisted that before all would be allowed to return to the agency they must apprehend our leaders of the

renegades and deliver them to the military authorities — dead or alive. The four renegades designated had been implicated in the killing of Lieutenant Almy and other murders, and Chappo was the last of the four. While resisting arrest he had been killed nearly a hundred miles from the agency. It was too far to bring the body and so the head was severed and brought in for identification and to comply with General Crook's orders. It is worth while remembering that the Indians had already been permitted to return to the agency, and that in this grim fashion they fulfilled their promise to hunt down the last of these desperate renegades.

On Monday, August 10th, I held my first general "talk" with the Indians. At that time there were about 800 Apaches assembled at this agency. I explained briefly why I had come to live among them and expressed the belief that, if they maintained peace, we would have really good times together; that I expected them to assist me in the management of local affairs, and that a little later, if we all tried to do right, no soldiers would be needed on the reservation. I further explained to them that among white people it was always necessary to punish the guilty for the protection of the innocent, and that the same system would apply to the San Carlos Apaches; that there were wrongdoers in every community, and that in all probability we would always have some offenders to deal with.

I then told them that I intended to appoint some Indians as policemen, and that we would establish a Supreme Court for the trial of offenders; that I would preside as Chief Justice and four or five of the chiefs would serve as Associate Justices, and that Indians would be called as witnesses at the trials. Under this system all Apache offenders would be arrested by Apache police, brought before an Apache court with Apaches as witnesses, and, if convicted, sentenced by Apache judges and, finally, delivered into the custody of Apache guards. This was a novel proposi-

tion to these simple people, but it appealed to them strongly for they were able in a crude way, to detect in it the idea of "self-determination." It suggested an open discussion of all of their affairs. They would know what was being done — and why. By taking them into my confidence I secured theirs. It marked the beginning of my self-government plan. With evident feeling, they told me they had never before been given credit for having the intelligence or the disposition to join in the direction of their own affairs. And thus it happened that I established the Apache Supreme Court, provided a temporary guard-house, appointed four Apache policemen, and with this organization found myself in a fair way to conduct the affairs of the reservation in an orderly and advantageous manner.

The unique features of *the only original* Apache Police Force and Apache Supreme Court functioning within a week after my arrival at San Carlos will be accepted as indications of fair speed in the inauguration of a strictly *down-to-date* administration along the lines of self-government, and, at the same time, may serve to prepare the reader for the more astounding announcement that within a month these same aboriginal departments of law and order were effectively enforcing agency regulations which anticipated our national statutes by nearly half a century.

These regulations referred to the vital subject of "prohibition," and gave due notice and warning that a "bone-dry" rule had been promulgated and that the same was immediately effective within the reservation limits, and that all offenders against this rule would be subject to arrest by the Apache Police and trial before the Apache Court — all of which meant that our bone-dry rule would be enforced at the muzzle of a needle-gun.

The federal statutes forbade the sale of intoxicating liquors on an Indian reservation, but, prior to my advent at San Carlos, the Indian trader there had kept whisky on sale at his store — though there was no evidence that

the liquor had been furnished to the Indians. Under our bone-dry rule this liquor was immediately removed from the reservation.

But the Apaches rivaled their pale-face brothers in the production of "home-brew." Their system was to bury grain on the sunny bank of a stream where the warmth and moisture caused the cereal to germinate. Then they stewed it — sprouts and all. The stew was then set aside and allowed to ferment. The Apaches called this brew "tuh-le-pah", but to the pale-face it was known as "tiz-win." It had a powerful "kick" — particularly if the revelers fasted a day or two before imbibing.

The drinking of tiz-win had caused so much trouble among these Indians that it was obvious its manufacture and use must be prevented as the initial step toward an orderly administration and permanent peace. In these circumstances I announced the "prohibition plan," but when I promulgated this bone-dry reservation rule I little dreamed I was setting the stage for my first raid with the Apache Police — and a mid-night raid at that.

This adventure occurred about a month after my arrival at San Carlos. My police force still numbered only *four*, and — like Caesar and Miles Standish — I knew the name of each of my soldiers. On the afternoon preceding this raid one of these policemen approached me in the most approved secret service fashion and engaged me in a whispered conversation relative to a very serious violation of the new agency rule — the purpose of which was to put a crimp in the operations of local "moonshiners" and "bootleggers." "Some Apaches," he said, "are making 'tu-le-pah' over there toward the sunset, in a deep canyon that cuts through the big mesa on the north side of the Gila."

Let me confess that I was quite as deeply interested in this bit of information as was Es-kin-os-pas, for it was he who told me the story. Es-kin-os-pas — big, brave and good-natured, — in fact, one of the kindest natures I have ever met. His speech was always soft, and he had a way of smiling when he spoke that was pleasant to look

upon. But even though he smiled he was deeply in earnest. "These bold and defiant violators of the bone-dry rule must be apprehended and punished at once," was the judgment of Es-kin-os-pas — expressed in the most forceful Apache diction at this command. As my knowledge of the Apache language was, as yet, extremely limited, the interpreter was taken into our confidence. Then the other three policemen were called in, the situation thoroughly discussed and all details for the night raid agreed upon.

The particular canyon in which the moonshiners had established their still was located about four miles west from the agency, and the expeditionary command — consisting of the *entire* police force and myself — slipped quietly away from the rendezvous about 9 p. m. and headed for the brewery. We crossed several arroyos, ravines and barrancas which had cut their course down to the Gila through the big mesa. There was no moon, and, notwithstanding the sky was clear and starlit, some of those canyon-like recesses looked oppressively dark, ugly and uninviting to me as I contemplated the object of our sortie.

Finally we stood upon the rim of the big canyon in which the illicit distillers were located, and suddenly I found myself looking down upon an exceedingly weird and thrilling panorama. Down there in the deep gloom of the canyon's floor several fires were smoldering, over which were suspended the kettles of brew. The fires gave only a dim illumination, and the camp was further obscured by the pall of smoke which hung listlessly above it. Grotesque figures of Indian men and women were moving stealthily about among the mesquite trees and bushes. Apparently there were 20 or 25 Indians in the camp — a considerably larger number than we had expected to find.

(To be continued in next number)

NECROLOGY

FRANK W. CLANCY

In the death of Frank Willey Clancy on September 1, 1928, the New Mexico Bar lost one of its oldest members in point of service as well as age. He came to New Mexico fifty-four years ago, and took an active and aggressive part in the development and affairs of the commonwealth, making for himself a name of distinction in official life as well as in his profession.

Mr. Clancy was born at Dover, New Hampshire, on January 15, 1852, and therefore was in his seventy-seventh year when he answered the last summons. His father was Michael Albert Clancy, and his mother Lydia Adella Willey, a descendant of a soldier of the American Revolution. She died in 1901. The grandfather of the subject of this sketch was John Clancy, a seafaring man who was lost at sea.

Mr. Clancy attended the public schools of Dover and Rochester, New Hampshire, graduating from the high school course. Going to Washington, D. C., he entered the preparatory department of Columbian now George Washington University, receiving the degree of L.L.B. from that institution in 1873. He also attended the Spencerian Business College at Washington, where he received excellent training in stenography and business methods which came in good stead to him in later life.

For three years he was clerk in the law offices of William E. Chandler, and for three years more he was connected with the United States Coast Survey. His experience in that branch of public service laid the foundations for his intimate knowledge of boundary affairs and surveying which meant so much to the State of New Mexico

in its litigation with the State of Texas over the boundary formed by the Rio Grande.

Mr. Clancy came to New Mexico in 1874 before the arrival of the first railroad. He made the trip across the Santa Fe Trail by mule-team and shared in all the hardships and excitement of those early days in the Southwest.

He served as Clerk of the Second Judicial District, with headquarters at Albuquerque, in 1875 and 1876, returning to Washington for a brief period to be secretary to Richard C. McCormick, Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, and accompanied the latter who was appointed Commissioner General of the Paris Exposition in 1878, remaining in Europe for several years. He often referred to this period of his life with a great deal of satisfaction and pleasure, and the anecdotes he told of his stay in Paris were always interesting.

He returned to New Mexico to take the position of Clerk of the District Court of the First Judicial District, with headquarters at Santa Fe. The appointment was made by the late L. Bradford Prince, who had just been named on the territorial bench. From that period dated the close friendship of the two men, which was ended only by the death of Governor Prince a few years ago.

From 1880 to 1883 Mr. Clancy was Clerk of the Supreme Court, a position which brought him in contact with all the members of the New Mexico Bar and also with many distinguished barristers throughout the United States.

In 1889 Mr. Clancy served in the Constitutional Convention which prepared the fundamental law that was to have been the basis for the admission of New Mexico to statehood at that time. Mr. Clancy was always a strict constructionist and a defender of the United States Constitution, and his impress was left on the document prepared in 1889.

From 1897 to 1898 he served as Mayor of the City of

Albuquerque. From 1901 to 1908 he was District Attorney for the Second Judicial District. Those were stormy days in which Mr. Clancy took not only active but violent part in political disputes, which gave him the reputation as a fighter without peer.

In 1909 he was named Attorney General of the Territory, serving until the advent of statehood, and then again as Attorney General for the State of New Mexico from 1912 to 1917. Many are the opinions that were handed down by him at that time and which still serve as the foundation for the interpretation of New Mexico's constitution and statutes. It was as Attorney General that he came into the litigation between New Mexico and Texas over the boundary formed by the Rio Grande, and much of Mr. Clancy's time from 1912 until recently was devoted to the gathering of testimony, marshalling of facts and presenting them to the United States Supreme Court in that celebrated case.

Mr. Clancy also had the honor of serving as a member of the Board of Regents of the University of New Mexico from 1889 to 1912.

As law partner of the late U. S. Senator Thomas B. Catron and the late Governor W. T. Thornton, and later of Judge John Knaebel, he took part as leading counsel or assistant in many of the celebrated cases reported in the New Mexico Supreme Court Reports as well as in the Federal courts.

Mr. Clancy's residence fluctuated between Albuquerque and Santa Fe, but he always insisted that he belonged in the Capital City and it is there that he owned his home, a large adobe structure not far from the Plaza and adjoining the historic residence of the late Governor L. Bradford Prince. There he spent his best days and it is there he accumulated his large library, rich not only in legal lore but also in general literature.

The deceased was of a social nature, delighted in the

company of a circle of friends that extended beyond the bounds of the Southwest, and whenever occasion afforded attended meetings of the American Bar Association, of which he was a member for many years, and took active part in the deliberations of the New Mexico Bar Association.

He was a member of the Sons of the American Revolution and would often contribute articles to the press in reference to the early history of the United States. For many years a member of the New Mexico Historical Society, he served two years as its president and never failed to attend a meeting when health or presence in the city permitted. As a writer he was clear and concise in his statements and logical in the presentation of facts. Could his contributions to the press, both metropolitan and local, be gathered they would make quite a formidable volume. He was a co-author with the editor of the New Mexico Historical Review of the Biography of Colonel J. Francisco Chavez.

The funeral of General Clancy took place on Sunday afternoon, September 2nd, Reverend Walter S. Trowbridge of the Church of the Holy Faith officiated. Attorney Frances C. Wilson pronounced the eulogy. The pall bearers were Francis C. Wilson, George W. Prichard, Colin Neblett, C. J. Roberts, E. R. Wright and Harry S. Bowman. Interment was in Fairview Cemetery.

Mr. Clancy is survived by his wife, with whom he would have celebrated his golden wedding anniversary next year. She was M. Charlotte Jane Cawthorne Swallow, a native of England who came to this country in early childhood and received her education at Washington D. C. Their marriage took place on October 30, 1879, and their married life was an idyllic one to the end. Some years ago they resolved never to observe a birthday, to consider themselves still youths, and lived in that spirit. General Clancy had a fine physique, seldom complained of illness, and death came to him peacefully from the infirmities of old age.

Colonel George W. Prichard, also one of the veterans of the New Mexico Bar, associated with General Clancy for almost fifty years, in a tribute published in the Santa Fe New Mexican says: "He was a man of strong convictions, tenacious in his opinions when they were once formed, true to his friends, indulgent towards those who disagreed with him, conservative in his criticisms and a man of high ideals in his profession."—P. A. F. W.

DR. CHARLES F. COAN

Dr. Charles F. Coan, associate editor of the New Mexico Historical Review and a fellow of the New Mexico Historical Society, died at a hospital in Albuquerque shortly before midnight on Wednesday, September 19, 1928, after an illness of only two weeks with pneumonia. Dr. Coan, at the time of his death, was head of the Department of History of the University of New Mexico, and had spent his vacation in the mountains not far from Albuquerque in helping build a house on a location for a summer dwelling.

Dr. Coan was a native of Dayton, Ohio, where he was born forty-two years ago. He attended Whitman College from 1904 to 1907 and received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Washington in 1908, the University of California granting him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1920. He was Assistant Superintendent of the Tung Wen Institute at Amoy, China, from 1910 to 1912, and from 1915 to 1918 was head of the Department of History in the high schools at Alameda, California. Dr. Coan was a member of the Phi Kappa Phi, Kappa Sigma and Pi Gamma Mu fraternities.

Upon taking up his residence in Albuquerque, he intensified his already decided interest in the history of the Southwest. He is the author of the latest of New Mexico histories, a three volume work, which came from the press

only recently. Lately he had been at work on genealogies of the old Spanish families of New Mexico, and had made considerable progress in gathering his material for the monograph, which was to have been published in the Review at some near date.

The funeral services took place in Rodey Hall at the University on Friday afternoon, September 21st. Reverend George I. Webber, pastor of the Congregational Church, pronounced the eulogy. Dr. J. F. Zimmerman, President of the University, and Professor France V. Scholes, added their tributes to that of the pastor.

In the death of Dr. Coan, the Southwest has lost a zealous student of its history and a scholar, whose painstaking research work was adding to the knowledge of the early history of this section.

Dr. Coan is survived by a widow and one son, his father and mother and a sister.—P. A. F. W.

TRIBUTE BY DR. J. F. ZIMMERMAN

The death of Dr. Charles F. Coan, Professor of History at the University of New Mexico, has created a gap in the ranks of those interested in research work in the field of Southwestern history, and a distinct feeling of loss among his colleagues and friends, with whom he has been in close contact during his eight years in New Mexico. His historical interests were centered in the southwest upon his acceptance of a position at the University in 1920, and his inherent love of art was stimulated into activity by the pueblo architecture and the work of the Santa Fe and Taos artist colonies. Concrete expressions of the artistic side of his nature are his home in Albuquerque and a collection of paintings by Carl Redin. In the historical field his compilation of the *History of New Mexico* will stand as his main achievement.

A middle western man by birth, his training and work

in his chosen profession were done in the west. He left his home in Dayton, Ohio, in 1904, at the age of 18, and entered Whitman College at Walla Walla, Washington. His final year of undergraduate work was completed at the University of Washington in 1908. The possibility of blindness forced him to give up the pursuit of history temporarily and remained the rest of his life a factor that foreboded the possibility of the ultimate defeat of his hopes for winning a place in the ranks of historians. After a year of homesteading in southeastern Oregon, he accepted a teaching position in the Tung Wen Institute at Amoy, China. He spent two years in the Orient, returning to Seattle in March, 1912. The next few years were spent in teaching and doing graduate work. His attempts at war service were hindered by his eyesight, but he finally succeeded in enlisting in the National Guard at Seattle. With the close of the war he continued his work at the University of California and received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the spring of 1920.

The years of his life at the University brought him near to his goal of securing sufficient freedom from the routine of teaching that he could devote most of his time to research work. His untimely death on the eve of the consummation of his life's hopes can only be regretted by the many and mourned by the few.

EULOGY BY PROF. FRANK D. REEVE

Dr. Coan came to the University of New Mexico in 1920 as Head of the Department of History and Political Science, and held that position continuously from then until his death.

Many members of the faculty present have been associated with him from the very beginning of his career in the University. Without exception they praise his work and cherish deeply his friendship. For myself, all of the teaching that I have done in the University has been in the

Department of History and Political Science of which Dr. Coan was the head. From a strictly academic point of view, therefore, I have been his closest associate for a period of three years. During that period he gave constant counsel and cooperation, but always accorded to me the broadest freedom in working out plans for my own courses. On assuming administrative duties in January, 1927, I continued to teach in his department. Our relations were always cordial, and his wise leadership in the Department of History and Political Science has in this way come to my attention.

His major preparation in the field of American History was carried on under the guidance of Dr. H. E. Bolton, Chairman of the Department of American History at the University of California. Dr. Bolton's scholarly research in southwestern history has won and held the admiration of many young historians in the nation and more particularly in the west. His letters of encouragement, kindly criticism, and generous praise for the work of Dr. Coan indicate clearly that he regarded him as a leader among his students and as one in every way worthy to carry on the important historical research in New Mexico and the southwest. Dr. Coan's admiration for the scholarship and personality of Dr. Bolton was evident at all times when subjects of historical research were under discussion.

The three outstanding published works of Dr. Coan are as follows: *Federal Indian Policy of the Pacific Northwest*; second, *County Boundaries of New Mexico*, published by the University of New Mexico; and, third, *The History of New Mexico*. Of thist last work, *The History of New Mexico* in three volumes, Dr. Charles W. Hackett, Professor of American History at the University of Texas, in his review says, in substance, that until further historical sources have been discovered, the history of New Mexico will stand essentially as Dr. Coan has written it. Since the appearance of that work which, because of its plan if

publication, has not yet been appreciated adequately in New Mexico, Dr. Coan has been engaged continuously in research. His study on the lands of the University, and more particularly in the statistical outline for the state of New Mexico, had he been spared to finish them, would have been not only a blessing to the University and to the state, but a lasting monument to his careful, devoted, and untiring scholarship.

The truth is he never ceased working. This summer while engaged with his father in the construction of an unusual home in the Sandia Mountains, he kept his historical material with him, and while resting from arduous physical labor, pursued his research tasks. Perhaps the last work which he did was to read to his father while they were still in the mountains a volume on *Recent Southwestern History* which had been sent to him by Dr. Hackett of the University of Texas with the request that he review it for historical journals. Some other historian will prepare the review which Dr. Coan would have written had he lived.

He was closely identified with leading organizations and publications in his own field. At his death he was a Contributing Editor to *Social Science*, a Fellow of the New Mexico Historical Society, Associate Editor of the New Mexico Historical Review, and a member of the American Historical Society. At one time he was a member of the Editorial Board of the *Southwestern Political Science Review*.

Although Dr. Coan was constantly engaged in research in more or less restricted areas of the field of history, he brought to the class-room an unusual insight into the influence of economic, social, and religious forces in human events, a thorough appreciation of the literary and artistic qualities whose influences he traced throughout history, and a broad understanding of world historical movements and

of modern international relations. In fact, he had a definite theory regarding the reorganization of the social science curricula to the effect that they could never be adequately outlined and correlated until courses in world history were placed at the center of the entire program. These contributions rendered his lectures vital to the undergraduate. On the other hand, I am sure that he was happiest in advanced undergraduate courses and in graduate instruction since he often spoke of looking forward to the time when the growth of his department would warrant him in giving full time to that work. It was my wish and the wish of his colleagues on the faculty that he would soon be able to realize this desire.

Dr. Coan will be remembered in the University not alone as a teacher and a thorough scholar in his field. He also devoted much of his time in work on important administrative committees. He served continuously, I believe, on the Library Committee, being an expert in the field of Library Science. His work on the Graduate Committee began in 1925, and in the larger planning for the Graduate School it will be difficult to proceed without his wisdom and counsel. Many here today are probably not familiar with the years of labor which he gave to the Athletic Association as its president. His services as president of Phi Kappa Phi and as founder of Pi Gamma Mu indicate the keen interest which he manifested in the scholastic ideals of the University.

One phase of Dr. Coan's life in relation to the University should be stressed, and that was his unusual interest in the revival of the pueblo type of architecture on the campus of the University, and also his pioneering spirit in seeking to adapt this type of architecture to homes in Albuquerque. His own home on Harvard Avenue was constructed at the time when the interest in pueblo architecture had waned. His architectural ideal is perhaps best represented in the present Kappa Sigma house which he designed.

When it was known that new buildings were to be erected on the campus of the University, Dr. Coan urged the return to the pueblo type. His influence in this field, I am sure, will never be forgotten.

His interest in the men of the Kappa Sigma fraternity reveals his extremely human and social qualities, while his work in founding the Harry Daugherty Memorial indicates not only his capacity for abiding friendships, but his deep desire to see the University perpetuate the memory of those who have served it faithfully.

The value of his counsel was recognized by those who reorganized the Alumni Association, particularly on account of his close personal relation to its secretary, Mr. Frank Reeve.

It is obvious from this very brief and incomplete review of his work among us that Dr. Coan was interested in every phase of the University's life. Indeed, he was so closely identified with our program of activities, and held such an important and permanent place in the total life of the University that it is impossible for us as yet to estimate the loss we have suffered.

His untimely death has come as a great shock to us all. We are too much bewildered now to see how we can proceed without him. It is my sincere hope that our appreciation of him and his work will bring a measure of consolation to his grief-stricken family.

From our point of view he had important work yet to do, and we wonder why he was not spared to do it. Yet he had done much—more, perhaps, than those of us who will continue our labors in the University. His work will surely live on through the years as long as the University exists, and his memory will ever be an uplifting influence among us. A suitable memorial in due time will be established in his honor. Yet more important than that perhaps, in our hearts we shall cherish always the memory of his life and his loyal service.

IN MEMORIAM

Whereas, Doctor Charles F. Coan has passed from this mortal plane, and his death has caused a serious loss to the University of New Mexico and to the cause of education in general, be it

Resolved by the Faculty of the University of New Mexico that they take this opportunity of paying tribute to the many charming and delightful personal qualities of their late lamented colleague, his loyalty as a friend, his ability as a teacher, and his written contributions to the field of History; to his share in the up-building of this university, ever remembering his faithful service on various faculty committees, his interest in honor societies, his valuable guidance to students, and his visions for the future of this institution.

Resolved that a copy of these resolution be spread in the minutes of the University Faculty, and copies be sent to Doctor Coan's immediate family to whom the Faculty extend profound and sincere sympathy.

LYNN B. MITCHELL
FRANCE V. SCHOLLES
WILMA LOY SHELTON
ROBERT S. ROCKWOOD
ROY W. JOHNSON

INDEX

- Abiquiu, Santo Tomas de, 328, 337, 339, 342
- Alvares, Fray Sebastian de, 337
- Apache Pass, 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 122, 348
- Apaches, 1-40, 121-144, 168-174, 217-264, 399-420
- Apache War Dance, 10-12
- Aragon, Juan Antonio, 341
- Arizona, Territory of, 347, 350-2, 354-5
- Armijo, Manuel, Governor, 340
- Army, W. F. M., 311
- Baca, Jesus Maria, 325
- Barraza, José Loreto 330, 335
- Barreiro, Lic. Antonio, 73-96, 145-78
- Bascom, Lieut. G. W., 2
- Baylor, Lieut. Col. John R., 347, 349, 354
- Bieber, Ralph P., ed. of *Letters of Wm. Carr Lane*, 179-203
- Bloom, Lansing B.; *Barreiro's Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico*, 73-96, 145-78, *A Glimpse of New Mexico*, 1920, 357-339
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene; *Escalante in Dixie*, 41-72
- Book Reviews, 213-4
- Bowie, Fort 1, 7, 8, 16, 17, 19, 26, 121, 218
- Bracho, Bernardino, 329, 335
- Campbell, Richard, 390-8
- Cañada, Villa de la, 340
- Castañiza, Don Juan Francisco de, 335
- Chie, 4, 6
- Cisneros, Pedro, of Escalante's party, 41 *et seq.*
- Clancy, Frank W., 421-25
- Clum, John P., *Geronimo*, 1-40, 121-44, 217-64; *Es-kim-in-zin*, 399-420
- Coan, Dr. C. F., 97, 425-32
- Cochise, 1-7, 15
- Colyer, Vincent, 3, 405, 406
- Cook, W. C., 348, 351
- Cordova, Don Diego Fernandez de, 359 *et seq.*
- Courts, 347-356, 390-8
- Crook, General, 138-44, 217-28, 238, 241, 242, 244, 416
- Deus, John Peter, 350, 356, 398
- Dominguez, Father, Escalante's companion, 41 *et seq.*
- Escalante, 41-72
- Eulate, Governor Juan de, 357 *et seq.*
- Es-kim-in-zin, 249, 399-420
- Exchanges, 215-6
- Gallaher, F. M.; Translation of *Official Report of Battle at Temascalitos*, 385-9
- Geronimo, 1-40, 121-44, 217-64
- Gusman, Jose Maria, 330, 335
- Hamilton, Capt. John M., 409-10
- Hare, Judge S., 352, 355-6
- Higgins, Frank, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 356
- Historical Society of New Mexico; *President's Report of*, 97-111; *Secretary's Biennial Report*, 204-11
- Hoppin, Charles A., 348, 350, 355
- Howard, General O. O., 1-7, 23, 233-4, 406-7
- Jeffords, Tom, 4-7, 9, 18
- Jones, Andrieus Aristieus, 112-16
- Junta of New Mexico, 358, 359
- Lagarza, Lic. Eleuterio Maria de, 73
- Lain, Joaquín, of Escalante's party, 41 *et seq.*
- Lane, William Carr, Letters of, 179-203
- Las Cruces, 347, 390-8
- Leoz, Don Francisco, 360
- Lucas, James A., 354
- Lucero, Presbyter Don Mariano, 342
- Maderiaga, Fr. Francisco Ignacio, 337
- Mangus Colorado, 1, 2, 4
- Manuscripts, in National Library, Mexico City, 301-23
- Martinez, Don Antonio Severino, 329
- Martinez, Presbyter Antonio Jose - y Santiestevan, 150, 325-346
- Mesilla, 347, 348, 350, 355, 356, 396, 397
- Miera, Don Pedro de, Escalante's map maker, 41 *et seq.*
- Miles, General Nelson A., 223 *et seq.*

- Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail, 265-300
- Nah-chee, 8, 15-6, 17, 126-30, 222-4, 227, 239-40, 247, 261
- New Mexico
- Barreiro - Agriculture, 95-6
- Albuquerque, 85
- Animals & fowl, 90-4
- Apaches, 168-74
- Arts, 96
- Climate, 82-3
- Comanches, 174-6
- Commerce, 145-8
- Finance, public, 159-61
- Geographical extent, 77-80
- Government, civil, 149-50
- Indian Pueblos, 87-9, 168
- Instruction, public, 150-1
- Justice, administration of, 161-2
- Lakes, 80
- Military branch, 151-9
- Mountains, 80-1
- Navajo, 176-7
- Population, 83-4, 89-90
- Roads, 81-2
- Santa Fe, 84-5
- Spiritual administration, 162-4
- Taos, 85-7
- Vegetable products, 94-5
- Yuta, 177
- Dept. of, 328
- Manuscripts on history of, 301-23
- Territory of, 347 *et seq.*
- Nock-e-da-kinny, 127-8
- Notes and Comment, 214-15
- Ojo Caliente, 27-36, 122
- Ortiz, Don Juan Felipe, 340
- Perrine, Fred S., *Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail*, 265-300
- Picuries, Mission of San Lorenzo de, 327, 338-9, 340, 342
- Pi-on-se-nay, 8, 14-16, 19-23
- Pojoaque, Pass de, 340
- Ponce, Indian chief, 2, 4, 5, 6, 34
- Rascon, Vicar Don Juan Rafael, 150, 337-8
- Report, President's annual; N. M. Historical Society, 97-111
- Rivas, Don Francisco de Paula, 329
- Rucker, Camp John A., 125-6
- San Carlos Agency, 7-40, 122-144, 217-264 408-420
- Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Villa de, 87, 339 342
- Santa Fe, 84-5, 369-70
- Santa Fe Trail, Military Escorts on, 265-300
- Scholes, France V.; *Manuscripts for the History of New Mexico in the National Library in Mexico City*, 301-23
- Silva, Lieut. Don Jose, 340
- Skin-yea, 8, 14, 15-16
- Sladen, Capt., 4, 6
- Spiegelberg, Abe, 116-19
- Springer, Lew Wallace, 211-12
- Tah-zay, 8, 15-16, 17, 23
- Taos, 85-7, 327, 337-340, 346
- Teguayó, 77
- Temascalitos, Official Report of Battle of, 385-9
- Territorial officers, oaths of, 348
- Tittmann, Edward D.; *Confederate Courts in N. M.*, 347-256; *By Order of Richard Campbell*, 390-8
- Tomé, Mayor of, 337
- Trugillo, Don Juan de Jesus, 342
- Valdez, Don Eulogio, 342
- Valencia, Dr. Galdos de, 360
- Vallezillo, Don Joan de Paz de, 360
- Vicente, Prebendary Don Agustin Fernandez, 337
- Wade, Edward C., 119-20
- Wade, Major, 27-28, 34
- Wade, Colonel, 226 *et seq.*
- Whitman, Lieutenant Royal E., 401-5
- Yuta, 41 *et seq.*, 177
- Zubira, Bishop José Antonio Laureano de 336, 338, 341

CONTENTS

NUMBER 1 — JANUARY, 1928

Geronimo	John P. Clum	1
Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip	Herbert E. Bolton	41
Barreiro's <i>Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico</i>	L. B. Bloom	73
President's Report for 1927 . . .	Paul A. F. Walter	97
Necrology: Andrieus Aristeus Jones . . .	P. A. F. W.	112
Abraham Fillmore Spiegelberg	E. D. J.	116
Edward C. Wade, Sr.	P. A. F. W.	119

NUMBER II — APRIL, 1928

Geronimo (continued)	John P. Clum	121
Barreiro's <i>Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico</i> (concluded)	Lansing B. Bloom	145
Letters of William Carr Lane, 1852-1854	R. P. Bieber	179
Secretary's Biennial Report for 1926-27	L. B. Bloom	204
Necrology: Lt. Lew Wallace Springer . . .	W.	211
Book Reviews	L. B. B.	213
Notes and Comments		214
Exchanges		215

NUMBER III — JULY, 1928

Geronimo (concluded)	John P. Clum	217
Military Escorts (concluded) . . .	Fred S. Perrine	265
Manuscripts in Mexico Library . . .	France V. Scholes	301

NUMBER IV — OCTOBER, 1928

Apologia of Presbyter Antonio J. Martinez	Cecil V. Romero	325
Confederate Courts in New Mexico	E. D. Tittmann	347
A Glimpse of New Mexico in 1620	Lansing B. Bloom	357
By Order of Richard Campbell	Edward D. Tittmann	390
Es-kim-in-zin	John P. Clum	399
Necrology: Frank W. Clancy	P. A. F. W.	421
Dr. Charles F. Coan		425

 ILLUSTRATIONS

John P. Clum and Apache Indian Police	facing	1
Map, Escalante in Dixie and Arizona Strip	facing	44
Source of the Santa Fe River	facing	81
Abe F. Spiegelberg	facing	116
Lt. Lew Wallace Springer	facing	121
Portrait of William Carr Lane	facing	179
Views on the Santa Fe Trail	facing	189
Traders Approaching Santa Fe	facing	196
John P. Clum, U. S. Indian Agent	facing	217
Nah-chee, Son of Cochise	facing	239
Geronimo	facing	244
Dr. Charles F. Coan	facing	325
Public Document	facing	348
Autograph Letter	facing	407
Casadora	facing	409



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